THE JIHAD IN KANO

(Translation and Analysis of **Taqyid al-akhbar** of Qadi Muhammad b. Salih)

Ibrahim Ado - Kurawa

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Kurawa Holdings Limited,
Kano.

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(Translation and Analysis of Taqyid al-Akhbar of Qadi Muhammad Zangi Ibn Salih)

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following Abbreviations are used in this book:

ABU	Ahmadu Bello University
Ar.	Arabic
BSOAS:	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
BUK:	Bayero University Kano
CSSH:	Comparative Studies in Society and History
Geog. Jour:	Geographical Journal
H:	Hausa
JAH:	Journal of African History
JAS:	Journal of African Society.
JHSN:	Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria
JRGS:	Journal of Royal Geographical Society
NAK:	National Archives Kaduna
SOAS:	School of Oriental and African Studies

TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

In the name of Allah The Beneficient the Merciful. All praise be to Allah, Lord of all the worlds, May His Peace and Blessings be upon our beloved Apostle.

The book *Taqyid al-akhbar* is one of the few books (if not the only one) on the Jihad in Kano written by a second generation Jihadist. The author was a student of the Jihad leaders therefore he had access to all the necessary information available during his life-time. *Taqyid al-akhbar* has been a major source of information for researchers in Nigerian acedemic system and elsewhere. In this work *Taqyid al-akhbar* is presented to both the specialist and the general readers by translating it into English and analysing it. The Translation of each chapter is followed by a commentary which is the analysis of the important points of the chapter.

This introduction attempts to provide, a summary on the Jihad Ordained by Allah, a biographical note on Shaikh Uthman b. Fūdi (may Allah have mercy on him) founder of the Sokoto Caliphate reflecting his *Sufi* background, and a brief biographical note on the Author of *Taqyid al-akhbar* Qadi Muhammad Zangi b. Salih.

JIHAD AS AN OBLIGATION

Jihad is struggle at all levels and hot war for the establishment of Islamic Governance is an important Form of Jihad. This write-up is primarily concerned with this form of Jihad which is obligatory until the last day, Allah The Exalted says:

> "Fighting is ordained for you although you dislike it. But it is possible that you dislike a thing which is good for you and that you love a thing which is bad for you. But Allah knows and you know not"[1]

> "Surely Allah has bought from the believers their lives and their wealth against the gift of paradise: they fight in the way of Allah; they kill, and are killed: that is a promise binding upon Allah in the Torah and the Injil and the Quran and who fulfills his contract more truely than Allah? Rejoice then in your bargain that you have made, for that is the mighty triumph."[2]

"And fight them on until there is no more *Fitna* (Tumult or oppression) and the *Deen* (life-transaction) is all for Allah (and there prevails justice and faith in Allah, altogether and every where) but if they cease verily Allah does see all that they do"[3]

According to Ibn Abbas "until *Fitna (Tumult or oppression) is no more" means until there is no more Shirk* (associating Allah with others). Other scholars are of the opinion that it means when no muslim is persecuted because of his *Deen* (life transaction)[4].

It is necessary to quote the *Ayat (verse) of the sword when writing on the obligation of the Jihad, Allah the exalted says:*

"Therefore, when you meet the Kuffar (in fight) strike at their necks, at length when you have thoroughly subdued them (until when you have done a lot of killing amongst them), Bind a bond firmly (on them): thereafter (is the time for) either generosity or ransom: until the war lays down its burdens. Thus (are you commanded): but if it had been Allah's will He could certainly have exacted retribution from them (Himself) but (He lets you fight) in order to test you, some with others, but those who are slain in the way of Allah He will never let their deeds be lost."[5]

Most of the commentators of the Quran have made detailed commentary on this Ayat, Abu'l-Fadl al-Baghadadi in his commentary 'Ruh al-Ma'ani' has stated:

"Ahmad, an-Nasa'i and others relate that Salama Ibn Nufail said once while I was sitting with the Messenger of Allah,

May Allah bless him and grant him peace, a man came and said 'Oh Messenger of Allah, the horses have been let go, the weapons have been put down and some people claim that there is no Jihad now, and that war has laid down its burden'. And the Messenger, May Allah bless him and grant him peace, said 'They are lying. For now war has come and there will always be a group of my 'umma in jihad in the way of Allah who will not be harmed by those who oppose them. And Allah the Exalted will make the hearts of some people turn away in order to give them (the muslims) provision from them. And you will be fighting until the Hour comes, and horses will aways have good tied up in their forelocks until the Hour comes and war will not put down its burden until Yujuj and Majuj come out."[6]

This is a clear indication of the continuance and obligation of jihad and it needs no further explanation. It is obligatory to invite the *Kuffar* to Islam before fighting them. According to Maliki jurists invitation to Islam is only for those who have not been previously called[7]. If they refuse the call, they must pay the *jizya* (tax) and this is if the muslims are in a place safe from their sedition and mischief. And if they refuse to pay the *Jizya* (tax) they should be fought[8].

Jihad is carried out against three groups:

1. *Al-Kuffar* which are three

a. The born *Kafir, who is either a jew or a christian[9] or a* magain or pagan. .

b. One who was muslim then becomes an apostate by declaration.

c. One who is found guilty of Kufr, by committing outward actions of *Kufr* even if he says he is a Muslim.

2. *Al-Bughat* These are the rebels according to Ibn Juzayy they are for example those who make false interpretation or those who revolt against the Imam or those who refuse to pay the Zakat. They are to be admonished and called back to the right path and if they refuse it is permissable to shed their blood(10).
3. *Al-Muharibun* - These are brigands according to Ibn Juzayy they must first be admonished then warned three times in the name of Allah if they refuse they should be fought and it is a jihad.

As far as waging jihad (hot war) is concerned the world is catigorised into three(11).

1) *Dar al-Islam* this is territory where the sharia is operational, it is the territory of peace where no oppression or persecution of muslims occur.

2. *Dar al-Harb,* this is territory of hostility, Hot war is waged on the *Kuffar* of *Dar al-Harb*.

3. *Dar al-'Ahd,* this is the territory that has signed treaty with the *Dar al-Islam.*

There is absolutely no doubt that Jihad in the way of Allah is an ordinance, binding, obligatory and in continuance. It is an urgent necessity in this century because most of the so-called muslim countries are governed by *Kafir* principles. Most of the Umma has been "seduced, tricked and subverted into a disastrous friendship with the *Kuffar*(12). The result of this Friendship is abandonment of Islamic educational nexus, Islamic moral nexus, Islamic governmental nexus and Islamic judiciary nexus for theirs(13). Regretably by "declaring liberty and equality the masonic ethos of jew-controlled christian society has enslaved the muslims treated them like dogs and degraded them and the deen of Islam"(14) Muslims everywhere most identify their enemy, declare the jihad, define its parameters, indicate its opening stages, delineate its outcome and indicate its end, because "jihad in the way of Allah is not something belonging to another day, but an urgent necessity for the survival of Islam"(15).

SHAIKH UTHMAN b. FUDI AND THE JIHAD

(i) Birth and Early Education.

Shaikh al-Islam Uthman b. Muhammad Fūdi was born in Maratta (Gobir Kingdom) on Sunday 29th Safar 1168 (15th december 1754). His father Muhammad, a descendant of Musa Jakolo, earned the name Fudi, 'the learned' in Fulfulde because of his knowledge.

The Shaikh studied and memorised the Quran at an early age under the guidance of his father. His most influential teachers from whom he learnt the important Islamic subjects were the famous Shaikh Jibril b. Umar, Shaikh Uthman Biddu al-Kabawi, Shaikh Abdal-Rahman Ibn Hammada, Shaikh Uthman Biddur Ibn al-Amin, Shaikh Ahmad Ibn Muhammad, Shaikh al-Hajj Muhammad Raj.(16)

The Shaikh was a deeply pious sufi this has been documented by *Shaikhs* Abdullahi, Muhammad Bello and Gidado b. Laima. In *Tazyin* al-*Waraqat (dated 1228 A.H. 1813 A.D.) Shaikh* Abdullahi b. Fūdi translated one of the *Shaikh's* poems (dated 1797) from Fulfulde to Arabic that illustrated the Sufi background of the *Shaikh:*

> "The blessings of Ahmad in the country
> of Allah Have become general and abundant
> by the presence of Abdal-Qadir. Our Faith,
> together with our sunna is in obedience
> increase me in it through the Shaikh
> 'Abdal-Qadir, And Make unbelief together
> with innovation and disobedience Far from
> me By the greatness of 'Abdal-Qadir".(17)

The state of the *Shaikh* was also described by *Shaikh* Muhammad Bello in Infaq al-maisur dated 5 Dhil-qa'da 1227 (10 Nov. 1812)

> "He informed me that when Divine
> attraction came to him by the blessing
> of the *Salat* on the prophet (May Allah
> bless him and grant him peace) which
> he used to persevere on, without tired-
> ness or boredom, Allah strengthened him
> with an overflowing of lights through
> the Shaikh Abdulqadir al-Jilli and his
> (Shaikh Abdulqadir's) grandfather,
> the messenger of Allah, (May Allah
> bless him and grant him peace). By
> this he witnessed the wonders of the
> hidden kingdom and reached the rare
> of the kingdom of power (source world).
> He witnessed the manifestation of the
> names, attributes and the Essence and
> he had a vision of the protected slate
> and he separated his symbolic observation
> and the Almighty the Real clothed him
> with a robe of calling to Him and He
> crowned him with a crown of showing
> and guiding to Him. And then a caller

from the supreme Presence called: "O people answer the caller to Allah" several times and he said: "Through which are deluded (away from the truth) such as would be deluded"

Then the Almighty the Real returned him to the state of wakefulness so that he was made Firm in calling and guiding to Him"(18)

Raud al-Jinan of Wazir Gidado b. Laima written 1254 A.H. (1838) after the death of the *Shaikh* Muhammad Bello is a clear indication of the Sufi traits of the *Jama'a* particularly the role of Muhammad Kwairanga as an intermediary between the *Shaikh* and *Shaikh* Abdal-Qadir Jilani.(19)

The Jihad leaders were not intellectually influenced by the writings or teachings of Ibn Taimiya or Ibn Abdul-wahab as was suggested by Dr. Muhammad Bahay (Former Rector of Al-Azhar)(20). On the contrary they had accepted views Condemned by the Wahabis(21). For example in *Bayan al-bida al-Shaytaniya* the *Shaikh* says

"And among that (innovations) is the denial of miracles of the Walis (Saints) which is a prohibitted innovation according to (Ijma) the consensus of learned opinion."(22)

In describing the visits that befit a pilgrim citing *al-Qawanin* in his *Diya al-Hukam* Shaikh Abdullahi says:

"And among the places which it is befitting to visit in order to seek blessing is the tomb of Ismail upon whom be peace in the mountain of Abu Qays, And the cave mentioned in the Quran which is in the mount of Thair, and the cave in the mount of Hira; where the revelation of the Quran to the Prophet (May Allah bless him and grant him peace) began; and visiting the tombs of Makkah and al-Madina of the companions and the followers, and the Imams. (concluded)(23)

These and the evidences of the Sufi background of the *Shaikh* in *Infaq al-Maisur, Tazyin al-Waraqat* and *Raud al-Jinan* make the suggestion of Wahabi doctrinal influence very absurb. It is more appropriate to

suggest that the *Shaikhs* (Jihad leaders) were influenced by orthodox maliki - Fuqaha *Sufis* such as *Shaikhs* Ahmad Zaruq and Ibn al-Hajj (the author of Madkhal) who were also anti-bid'a.

The major distinction between the *Shaikh* and the present-day muslim activitists was his pure Islamic educational background. Most of the present day muslim activists are products of colonialism which had been a complete imposition of a cultural nexus alien to the basic spiritual and social reality of Islam(24). Their educational background lacks the radical critical analysis that will expose the mythology of the dominant *Kafir* culture. They have thus fallen into the dialectic of the enemy so they ended up accepting the political framework of dominant culture and coalesced Islamic view of governed society and *Kafir* State view(25). They conceived of an 'Islamic State' based on western structuralist model. Their goal became the establishment of the 'Islamic State' through whatever means to them the end justifies the means. They had no alternative other than to enter the tyrannical and deceptive democratic arena in order to acquire political leadership as was the case in Egypt, Sudan and Pakistan. Whereas the goal of the *Shaikh* was to obey Allah sincerely by consciously emulating the life pattern of the Prophet (May the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him). He never relied on his intellect and ability to plan as the present-day muslim activists believe, but he believed that "whoever reaches the reality of Ihsan cannot turn to other than Allah".(26)

(ii) Hijra and Jihad

The *Shaikh* started teaching and preaching at an early age of twenty years this was in 1188 (1774-5). He continued studying according to Islamic tradition of scholarship(27). The *Shaikh* became popular, people from different parts of the Sudan came to him seeking for guidance in his hometown of Degel. He guided people in the major sciences of Islam such as *Fiqh* and *tasawuf*(28). The *Shaikh* established a functional muslim community. A community of believers transformed by the life pattern of the best of mankind the Prophet of Allah (May the Peace and blessings of Allah be upon him).

The Shaikh and other scholars were invited to Magami for *Idal-adha* prayers in 1202 A.H. (1788) by the Sultan of Gobir Bawa. After the prayers the Sultan gave the scholars gifts which they accepted except the *Shaikh* who demanded that he should be allowed to call people to Allah without any hindrance, nobody should be stopped from following him, anybody wearing turban should be treated with respect, all prisoners should be released and that citizens of Gobir should not be overburdened by tax.(29) The Sultan agreed, but realised the implications and said "O people of Gobir have you seen this Fulani man? There will be no sultanate after me except a local v age

head''(30). The *Shaikh* returned to Degel where he continued teaching, preaching and writing. He wrote poems in Ajami (vernacular) - Hausa and Fulfulde which were understood by the common people(31). The most important book that was written during this period was *Ihya 'al-sunna wa Ikhmad al-bid'a* completed before 1207 A.H. (1793) (32).

Preparations for the Jihad began in (1208) 1794, the *Shaikh* became a magnet for attracting people from all parts of the Sudan(33). The power of the Sultan of Gobir and other tyrants began to decline, the *Shaikh* and his community were bcoming more independent of the Habe tyrants. In 1211 (1797) according to *Tazyin al-Waraqat* the Shaikh instructed members of the community to arm themselves because "To get arms ready is Sunna.''(34)

The Sultan of Gobir Nafata made the following declaration against the *Shaikh's* community in 1216 (1802) "No man should become a muslim unless a muslim born, all converts should revert to their original Faith, men should no longer wear turban, women should not viel themselves; and that no body except Uthman alone should preach Islam''(35). This same year a section of the community under Abdussalam moved from Gobir to Gimbana in Kebbi. Yunfa Dan Nafata became the Sultan of Gobir C. 1216-17 (1803)(36). He attempted to kill the *Shaikh* in 1217 but failed. In Dhu'al Qada 1217 the *Shaikh* wrote the *Masa'il Muhimma* in which he stated the necessity of Jihad against unbelievers and Hijra from the land of *Kufr*(37).

The Shaikh (may Allah have mercy on him) made the Hijra from Degel which was vulnerable (to attack by Yunfa) on 10th Dhul al'-Qa'da 1217 (21 Feb 1804) to Gudu. Many muslims made the Hijra and joined the *Shaikh,* this alarmed the Tyrant Yunfa who harrassed the Muhajirun and confiscated their property(38). It was at Gudu that the muslims made the *bay'a* (Swore allegience) to the *Shaikh. Shaikh* Abdullahi b. Fūdi was the first to make the *bay'a* then *Shaikh* Muhammad Bello and others followed. From that moment the *Shaikh* became the Imam (Amir al-Mu'minin).

An expedition sent by the tyrant of Gobir against the muslims was driven back. The muslims later liberated the strategic towns of Matankari and Konni. The Badr of the *Jama'a* was Tabkin Kwatto in Rabi awwal 1219 (June 1804)(39). The Muhajidun under the command of Shaikh Abdullahi were out-numbered by the Tyrant's army but Allah granted them victory. Both sides were racially mixed(40). Shaikh Abdullahi described the composition of the Mujahidun during this encounter:

> "We are an army victorious in Islam,
> And we are proud of nothing but that
> Tribes of Islam and Turubi is our clan
> our Fulani and our Hausa all united
> And among us other than these certain

tribes bound together. For the help of Allah's *deen* (life transaction) - made up the union"(41).

The term Fulani Jihad has no Historical basis, it is a legacy of colonial education accepted by Kafir-Manufactured doctors, and ignorant muslims.

The *Jama'a* was defeated at Tsuntsuwa in Ramadan 1219 (December 1804). Two thousand were martyred, two hundred of them were *Hufaz* (those who have committed the Quran to memory). Notable among the Martyrs were Imam Sambo, Zaid Ibn Muhammad Sa'd and Muhammad Gurdam(42). The *Jama'a* also suffered heavy casualty and defeat at the Battle of Alwasa in 1218 (Nov. 1805) some Hausa supporters also rebelled.

Shaikh Muhammad Bello represented the *Shaikh* at a meeting of the Eastern Jihad leaders of Kano, Katsina, Daura and Zamfara at Birnin Gada before his Yandoto campaign. Kano had been liberated by the - *Jama'a*. *Shaikh* Muhammad Bello appointed the just *Faqih* Sulaiman b. Aba Hamma as the Amir of Kano. He also informed them that the Shaikh extends his greetings to "all of them and instructs them to make the *bay'a* and that they should follow the sunna in words and deeds, openly and secretly in motion or in stillness at day or at night" and they heard and accepted(43). He admonished them and warned them against reverting to Habe customs after the liberation of Hausaland.

Before 1222 (1807/8) most of the important towns of the Hausaland were liberated. In Ramadan 1221 (Nov. 1806) the Shaikh wrote the *Bayan Wajub al-hijra 'alal - 'ibad* to guide the *Amirs* of the liberated towns and the *Mujahidun*(44). On 12th *Sha'aban* 1223 (3rd Oct. 1808) Alkalawa the capital of Gobir Kingdom was liberated, while the Shaikh was at Gwandu(45). This brought an end to tyranny in Hausaland and Islamic Governance became established.

THE SOKOTO CALIPHATE

The *Shaikh* was the Khalifa as "Sayyiduna Umar (May Allah be pleased with him) used to ask urgently of one of his brothers 'Tell me I am a *Khalif* and not a *Sultan'*. 'You are indeed a *Khalif,* because you are concerned for the people and they are not afraid of you', was the famous reply."(46) He was assisted in running the affairs of the Caliphate by Shaikhs Abdullahi and Mohammed Bello he also appointed scholars as Qadis to administer Justice. Imam Muhammad Sambo was the Chief Judge before his martydom at Tsuntsuwa, Shaikh Abubakar Ladan was also a Chief Judge at Sifawa. The *Muhtasib* (who enjoins good actions and Forbids evil acts) was

Muhammad Julde appointed by the Shaikh. The *Sai* was appointed to collect the Zakat the first *Sai* was Mallam Ibrahim. Aliyu Jedo was the commander of the *Mujahidun (Amir jaish al-Islam)*. There was the *Amir al-Shurta* whose duty was to obtain "Justice for the weak from the strong"(47) The Shaikh condemned the Habe system of government in his book *Kitab al-Farq:*

> "One of the ways of their government is succession to the Emirate by hereditary right or by force to the exclusion of consultation"(48)

Shaikh Abdullahi also condemned this system in his *Diya al-Umara.*(49)

The Shaikh appointed *Nuwwab* (Deputies) to assist him in the administration of the provinces. *Shaikh* Muhammad Bello was made the vizier responsible for the administration of the Eastern provinces which included Kano, Katsina, Daura, Zamfara, Gombe, Bauchi, Katagum, Zaria, Hadejia, Adamawa and Borno East with headquarters at Sokoto. While from Gwandu Shaikh Abdullahi controlled the West which included Ilorin and Nupe.(50) The *Shaikh* devoted most of his time to teaching and writing on various Islamic subjects, weekly public lessons were held on Thursdays while he was at Sifawa. The *Shaikh* moved from Sifawa to Sokoto in 1230 (1815). He died at Sokoto on Sunday night 3rd Jumada Thani 1232 (1817) at the age of sixty-three. Meticulously following our beloved Prophet (May Allah bless him and grant him peace) in death, dying at the same age as he followed him during his life time.(51) He was succeeded by his son *Shaikh* Muhammad Bello

The Sokoto Caliphate epitomised the highest achievement by African rulers south of the Sahara in establishing civilised governance, prior to the arrival of the European Imperialists. An organised system of autonomous local government and a decent system of commercial enterprise were evolved by the founders of the Caliphate.

The Sokoto Caliphate was a genuine political entity which must be concieved of with its own historicity and *not* as a static rabinical phenomenon which is a totalitarian event. The Sokoto Caliphate was established using the best form of governance creat[illegible]r mankind, the Prophetic life - pattern manifested in Madina al-Munnawara. It was something different in both form and content from the current disastrous social structures which tyrannise the endangered human species.

THE AUTHOR OF TAQYID AL-AKHBAR: MUHAMMAD ZANGI b. SALIH

Muhammad Zangi b. Salih was born in 1221 AH (1806AD) he descended from Muhammad Madli a jallube Chief and proginator of the Gyanawa Family who married the daughter of a torobbe Chief in Mali and gave birth to Salihu Gagga. It was Salihu Gagga who led the migration of the Jallube from Bagirmi after the massacre of their families by the Kunku he was in the group of the descendants of Ardo Tiiri. Salihu Gagga remained in Kano Territory he settled in Tsangaya while others moved to Gobir. Because of their Bagirmi influence they are refered to as Fulata Borno by those who do not know their actual history(52). The Gyanawa (Family of Muhammad Zangi b. Salih) have played a prominent role in the history of Kano as scholars and administrators of justice. Only two of the nineteenth century Chief Qadis were not Gyanawa. The Chief Qadi was the head of the Judiciary, he was also a member of the Emirate council.Muhammad Zangi's Father Salih Duttiwa (Dattuwa) Ibn Muhammad a *Murid* (Sufi novice) of Shaikh Uthman b. Fudi(53) was appointed Chief Qadi (1225 AH 1810 AD) by *Amir* Sulaiman b. Aba Hamma after the death of Qadi *'Alim* Uthman Bahaushe he was thus the first Chief Qadi of Kano among the Gyanawa(54). Salihu b. Muhammad was the leader of the Jallubawa a Fulfulde speaking torrobe clan during the Jihad campaigns in Eastern Kano. The Jallubawa, Yeligawa and Jobawa were under *'Alim* Muhammad Bakatsine who was the leader of the Eastern Mujahidun(55).

Muhammad Zangi had his early Quranic education at Sokoto under the guidance of Mallam Tufa, he was one of the colleagues of Aliyu Babba b. Shaikh Muhammad Bello. It has been narrated that Shaikh Muhammad Bello once prayed for the two of them. Among his teachers of other Islamic subjects were Shaikh *'Alim* Mustapha Taib, 'Alim Imam Sulaiman *(Amir* of Kano), *'Alim* Ishaq Gwani, Alqadi Salihu b. Muhammad and *'Alim* Arabu.

Muhammad Zangi participated in the Jihad campaigns during the reign of Amir Ibrahim Dabo. He was appointed the chief Qadi of Kano in 1265 AH (1848 AD) by *Amir* Uthman b. Ibrahim Dabo after the death of Qadi Ashafa. He was a very close associate of *'Amir* Abdullahi who made him to write this book *Taqyid al-akbhar* and three of his children Abba Dodo, Shehu Uthman and Sulaiman married the daughters of the Amir(56).

Muhammad Zangi was learned in *Fiqh* and *Tafsir* he was among the leading authorities of these fields during the reign of *Amir* Abdullahi b. Ibrahim. His school at Gidan Alkali was very famous. The school produced some of the late nineteenth century scholars such as his son Mallam Shehu Uthman who was executed by Amir Tukur because he

was falsely accused of supporting Yusuf(57). His nephew Modibo Salihu who was appointed Chief Qadi by Amir Tukur was also one of his students. Qadi Modibo Salihu accompanied *Amir* Tukur to Kamri, and when he returned to Kano he established a school in his house at Warure and among his students were two famous Kano scholars: Mallam Abubakar Na Gado da Masu and Mallam Mijinyawa. Another student of Muhammad Zangi was his son Sulaiman who joined Yusuf after the execution of his brother by Amir Tukur, he was appointed Chief Qadi of Kano by Amir Aliyu Ibn Abdullahi. Qadi Sulaiman ceased to be the Chief Qadi when he refused to serve the colonial administration.

Qadi Muhammad Zangi b. Salih died in 1286 A.H. (1869 AD) and was survived by seven male children: Abba Dodo, Shehu Uthman, Ibrahim, Abdusalam, Yusuf, Gabindi and Sulaiman. His brother Ahmadu Rufa'i succeeded him as the Chief Qadi, Ahmadu Rufa'i was learned but he lost the favour of the *Cucanawa* and was assasinated(58).

NOTES:

1. Quran Chapter 2 verse 216, Yusuf Ali's Translation and commentary.
2. Quran Chapter 9 verse 11
3. Quran Chapter 8 verse 39
4. See Ibn Kathir: *Tafsir al-Quran al-Azim* Published by Maktabat Zahran Cairo Vol.2 p. 310 where he also stated that Abd al-Rahman b. Zaid b. Aslam has said 'and the *Deen* (life-transaction) is all for Allah' means that your *Deen* should not exist together with *Kufr* as has been confirmed in the two authentic Hadith collections where the Messenger (may Allah bless him and grant him peace) has said "I have been instructed to fight people until they say there is no god but Allah if they say this then their blood and property have been protected only the chargeable from it and their judgement is with Allah the exalted (He shall judge them)".
5. Quran Chapter 47 verse 4.
6. Abdal Qadir al-Murabit: *The sign of the sword Norwich* 1984 p. 106 were he quoted Abu'l Fadl al-Baghdadi.
7. al-Nafarawy - *Fawakih al-Dawany* Beirut p.464 see also Abdal Qadir al-Murabit op. cited p.55 where he quoted Mukhtasar of Khalil and Qawanin of Ibn Juzayy.
8. Abdal Qadir al-Murabit op. cited p. 55.
9. Because Allah The Exalted has declared:

   They are Kafir who say Allah is the Messiah son of Mary.....

   and also:

They are Kafir who say Allah is one of three
in a trinity; for there is no god except
God the one.

Quran chapter 5 verse 75 and 76. This is Abdal Qadir al-Murabit's translation see Abdal Qadir al-Murabit op. cited pp. 36 and 37.

10. Ibid p. 86 where he quoted Ibn Juzayy
11. Shehu Umar Abdullahi: *On the Search For a viable Political Culture, Reflections on the Political Thought of Shaikh 'Abdullahi Dan-Fodio* Kaduna 1984 p. 18
12. Abdal Qadir al-Murabit op. cited p.11
13. Ibid p.11
14. Ibid p.13
15. Ibid p.44.
16. Balogun, I.A.B: *The Life And Works of Uthman Dan Fodio* Lagos 1981, pp.33
17. Ibid p.37
18. Shaikh Muhammad Bello: *Infaq al-Maisur Fi ta'rikh bilad al-Takrur* 1963 p.54 I was helped in translating this paragraph by Mal. Bashir Aliyu Umar and Mal. Umar Adamu Salihu. See alo Ibn Kathir. *Tafsir al-Quran al-Azim* op. cited Vol.4 p.233 for the commentary of the Quranic verse (Ch. 51 Verse 9) quoted in this paragraph. On the Sufi background of the Shaikh see also Ibrahim Sulaiman *A Revolution in History The Jihad of Usman Dan Fodio* pp.28-30.
19. Last, M: *The Sokoto Caliphate* London 1977 p.20
20. Muhammad Bahay: *Introduction to Ihya al-Sunna wa Ikhmad al-bid'a* p.6 and F.H. El-Masri Introduction to *Bayan Wujub al-Hijra 'Ala'l-'ibad* Khartoum 1978 pp.2-6.
21. Hiskett M: *Material relating to the State of learning among the Fulani before their jihad* BSOAS XIX 1957 p.595.
22. Ibid p.594
23. Ibid p.595
24. al-Murabit, A: *Root Islamic Education* p.32
25. Ibid
26. Sidi Ali al-Jamal: *The Meaning of Man* Translated by Aisha 'Abdar-Rahman at-Tarjumana Norwich 1977 p.422.
27. 'Abd al-Haqq, S: *Biography of Shaykh 'Uthman dan Fodio* in Handbook on *Islam, Iman, Ihsan* Norwich 1985 p.1
28. Ibid p.2
29. El-Masri, F.H.: *The life of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio Before The Jihad* JHSN Vol. 2 No. 4 Dec. 1963 p.441 and 'Abdal-Haqq op. cited p.2.
30. Last op. cited p.7
31. Said, G: *The significance of The Shehu's Sermons and* Poems

in Ajami "Sokoto Seminar Papers edited by Y.B. Usman Zaria 1979 p.195-217.

32. Balogun op. cited p.81 and M. Last op. cited p.9
33. Balogun op. cited p.36
34. Last op. cited p.11
35. 'Abdal-Haqq, op. cited p.3
36. Last op. cited p.12
37. El-Masri *Introduction to Bayan* ..... p.23.
38. Last op. cited p.24
39. Balogun op. cited p.39
40. Ibid p.38
41. Ibid p.39 citing Shaikh Abdullahi b. Fudi's *Tazyin al-Waraqat*
42. Last op. cited pp.20 and 32 and Balogun op. cited p. 82.
43. Shaikh Muhammad Bello op. cited p. 132.
44. El-Masri introduction to Bayan ..... p.24.
45. Last op. cited p.39
46. al-Murabit: *Root Islamic Education* p.132
47. Shaikh Uthman b. Fudi; Kitab al-Farq translated by Hiskett BSAOS XXII 1960 p.570.
48. Ibid p.567
49. Shaikh Abdullahi b. *Fudi: Diya al-Umara Fi Ma wa alaihim min al-ashya* NAK
50. Last op. cited pp. 40-45
51. Abdal-Haqq op. cite p.5
52. Ado, I. *History and Geneology of the Gyanawa (1000A.H.* To Date) Kano 1988 p.7
53. U.F. Malumfashi M.A. Thesis ABC/ABU p.45 Paragraph 75.
54. I. Ado op. cited p.8
55. Ibid p.2.
56. Ibid p.11.
57. Ibid p.13
58. Ibid p.12

IBN SALIH'S PREFACE

In The Name of Allah The Beneficient The Merciful. may the Peace and Blessings of Allah be upon our beloved Apostle, his Family, progeny, companions and their followers the scholars, the four diligent Imams and their followers until the day of Judgement. All praise belongs to Allah, the Lord of all the worlds, May His peace and blessings be upon the master of all the messengers.

All praise belongs to Allah who has made information (history) the instrument of linkage and acquaintance between the earlier and later generations. Information concerning earlier generations is communicated to the later generations by the Quran or the Hadiths of the Messenger of Allah (May His peace and blessings be upon him). And also information concerning later generations was communicated to the earlier generations in a similar pattern for example the information on the Messenger of Allah in the Torah(1) and the Madhi(2) in the Hadiths of the Apostle of Allah (May His peace and blessings be upon him).

I have decided to name this book "TAQYID AL-AKHBAR"(3) of the *Jama'a*(4) of the Shaikh(5) in Kano and what happened between them and the tyrant Alwali(6). Including battles until the liberation of the whole area and establishment of Allah's sovereignity(7). Excellent and clear explanation and narration of these events is made from the accounts of eye witnesses which was a fulfilment of what Allah has promised in the Quran ".....it may be that your lord will destroy your enemy and make you inheritors in the Earth that so He may try you by your deeds"(8). And also as He stated in another verse "...that He will establish in authority their *(Deen)* life transaction, the one which He has chosen for them; And that He will change (their state) after the fear in which they (lived), to one of security and peace"(9). Their authority became established successor after successor until the authority reached children and grand children and they are firmly established in the life-transaction of Islam upto the present day, all praise belongs to Allah who has made this possible.

In this book there are six chapters (10) and an introduction on the knowledge of different categories of information. The first chapter: deals with the call of the Shaikh and the response of the people (of Kano to the call). The second chapter: is on the nature of Hijra(11) which is infact the core and theme of this book. Chapter three deals with the governance of Sulaiman Ibn Aba Hamma. Chapter four: governance of Ibrahim Dabo Ibn Mahmud which also contains information on the Apostates. Chapter five: governance of Uthman Ibn Ibrahim Dabo, also contains information on the *Shaqiy*(12) of Hadejia. Chapter six on the governance of Abdullahi Ibn Ibrahim

Dabo in whose time Dan Maje the "Musailamah"[13] (the liar) of our time became notorious. And there is also a conclusion on the life style of the *Muhajirun*[14] and their high integrity and preference above others.

KNOWLEDGE OF DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF INFORMATION

Know my dear brother that if you understand proficiency then you will know the different categories of information. Whoever occupies his intellect with the history of men of unquestionable integrity reflecting on their excellent characters his heart will become illuminated and would be concerned with the hereafter. And whoever occupies himself with the history of evil men and *Kafir*(15) kings, his heart will become insensitive and his discernment will be lowered he would be concerned with things of this world (and therefore be in a state of absolute forgetfulness)(16).

Have you not heard (studied) the history of the companions of the cave where Allah stated that their dog was with them? because the dog said "I love those who love Allah". Therefore whoever loves men of excellent characters shall be with them on the day of Judgement(17). The King in whose time Allah woke the companions of the cave from their sleep was a believer and a just ruler. Their appearance in his time was infact a Karamat(18) attributed to him even though there was no Apostle of Allah or Scholar to guide him on controversial administrative issues. Allah made the companions of the cave to appear because there was confusion among the followers of Isa (peace be upon him) of that time, they were divided into three sects on this issue. Some of them were of the opinion that Allah will resurrect the dead on the day of judgement in their physical and spiritual form. Others said the dead will be resurrected in the spiritual form(19) whereas others were of the view that there will be no resurrection. The King entered into seclusion in his house. And he appointed two deputies to take care of his administration in his absence. His bed was covered with dust (because of his God fearingness and cautiousness) he cried and prayed to Allah to show him a clear sign, that will bring an end to the controversy. Allah answered his prayer and the companions of the cave woke up after three hundred and nine years (of sleep or death)(20). The people witnessed the appearance of the companions of the cave in body and spirit. Which proved that individuals will be resurrected on the day of judgement in a similar manner. If you are lucky to have in your time a ruler who is a believer then you have to be grateful (express your gratitude).

I have been instructed by the *Amir*(21) of Kano Abdullahi Ibn Ibrahim Dabo to compile all the necessary information on the history of the Jihad in Kano. For fear of the disappearance of the present generation and the information they have on jihad might vanish with them. And then misinformation will occur in future which will

result in controversies and misunderstanding of the life style of the earlier generation(22). As it occured concerning the apostle of Allah, Ibrahim (peace be upon him) when the jews said "Ibrahim was a Jew and the christians said he was a christian". Allah refuted their claim and replied them in His Holy Book "Ibrahim was not a Jew nor yet a christian"(23). He also stated in another verse "Ah! Ye are those who fell to disputing (even) in matters of which ye had some knowledge, but why dispute ye in matters of which ye have no knowledge? It is Allah who knows and ye who know not!(24)". Similar controversies occured concerning the companions of the cave as Allah has stated in His Holy Book "Some say they were three the dog being the fourth, Among them: (others) say, they were five the dog being the sixth, doubtfully guesing at the unknown yet others say they were seven the dog being the eight. Say thou "My lord knoweth best their number; it is but few that know their (real case). "Enter not therefore into controversies concerning them except on a matter that is clear, nor consult any of them about (the affair of) the sleepers".(25)

All that is narrated(26) in this book was what I heard from some of the scholars of our time such as 'Alim(27) Ishaq Ibn 'alim Muhammad Gwani who is very well known in our time. He is a man with good memory and retention, excellent in recollecting the information he has heard. I also heard some of these facts from *'Alim* Muhammad Falaki and *'Alim* Muhammad Maly Imam of Fanisau. Only that I added more information and explanation inorder to bring about conformity and summary for better understanding of the history of men of unquestionable integrity. I have also arranged the events in chronological order; including days, nights and months, and places where the events occured and also the names of the clans and their heads. I have mentioned the first person to shoot with the first arrow of the Jihad, first to be martyred and the first *Kafir* to be killed by the First Arrow of the Jihad. Also included are the names of commanders of the battalions and expeditions. I have adopted this style inorder to indicate the similarities between the history of the companions (May Allah be pleased with them) of the Apostle of Allah (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) and that of our parents the *Muhajirun.* Who followed the footsteps of the companions by leaving their homes, lovers, relatives, wealth, farmlands to a place where they could be firmly established in their life transaction. I have explained this comprehensively.

COMMENTARY

1. Book revealed to Prophet Musa (May Allah be pleased with him).
2. The rightly guided Reformer who shall revive the deen (life transaction) of Islam and establish justice towards the end of time. He shall be from the family of the Apostle of Allah (May the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him), from among the descendants of Hassan Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Talib. Although the Shia

believe that he had been born and that he shall reappear. They believe that he was Muhammad Ibn Hassan Al-askry who disappeared "long ago". There is abundant literature on the Mahdi (for more information see Abdul Muhsin Ibn Ahmad: *Al-rad al-man Kadhaba bi al-hadith al-Sahiha waradat Fi al-Mahdi* 1402)

3. Recorded information. This means that the book contains authentic and non-controversial facts that have been preserved in written or any other form.
4. Community of believers.
5. This word where-ever mentioned in this book refers to Shaikh Uthman Ibn Fodio, the greatest individual of the nineteenth century Sudan. (For more information refer to the Translator's introduction).
6. Alwali son of Yaji and Baiwa he reigned for 27 years 1781-1808 (1195-1222AH) he was the last Habe Sarki of Kano (H.R. Palmer: *Sudanese Memoirs,* the Kano chronicle p.127).
7. As far as the Sharia is concerned sovereignity belongs to Allah and not to the people as erronously designated and believed in pagan countries, known as secular states.
8. Quran Surah 7 Ayat 129: So that he will try you, whether you will be successful or not, and he shall reward you according to your actions. It is also a warning that they should not engage in Kufr. (Imam Mahmud Al-Alusy Al-Baghadadi *Tafsir Ruh al-Ma'ani* Vol. 9 pp.30-31
9. Quran ch. 24 verse 55. The Apostle and his companions lived in Makkah for more than ten years, worshiping Allah and praying to Him without associating Him with partners. They were in state of fear then he was instructed to migrate with his companions. In Madina they were alert and armed because they might be attacked by the enemies of Allah. He and his companions remained patient, he was even asked by one of the companions for how long shall they remain in that situation. He replied that a time shall come when they shall be in peace and there will be no need for Arms, then Allah revealed this Ayat. He did not depart to his Lord until when all the Arabian penisula was liberated by Allah's will, and there was no need for alertness because of fear (as was earlier mentioned). The liberation of other areas continued throughout the period of the four rightly guided Caliphs. (For more information see Al-Hafiz Ibn Kathir: *Tafsirul Quran* Cairo Vol.3 pp 301-2, Quran 24:55)
10. The literal translation should be in this book there is introduction and six informations. Therefore it is more appropriate to translate as above (six chapters).
11. See comment (1) of chapter 2.
12. Shaqiy; means naughty, stubborn or someone who violates the injunctions of the Shari'a.
13. Musailamah Ibn Habib or Ibn Thumamata, he was among the representatives of banu Hanifa who came to the Apostle of Allah (May the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him). There is difference of opinion partaining to his meeting with the Apostle of Allah. It has been narrated that he met the Apostle of Allah together with his people and that they used a cloth to form a viel between them while he was consulting the Apostle (i.e. the people were vieled from the Apostle and Musailamah). He asked the Apostle something and the Apostle replied that he shall not give him anything even the juice of date palm. When they returned to Yamamah, Musailamah became an Apostate and proclaimed prophethood. The Banu Hanifa followed him except Thumamat Ibn Uthal who remained faithful to Allah and His Apostle and never became an apostate. Musailamah made Alcohol permissable to them and freed them from salat (prayer). (Al Hafiz Yusuf Ibn AbdulBar: *Al Durarfi Ikhtsar Al-Maghazy Walsiyar.* Darul Marif Cairo 1403 (1983) pp.254-5).
14. Muhajirun: see conclusion
15. *Kafir, "Kufr* means to cover up reality: *Kafir* is one who does so. The *Kafir* is the opposite of the Mu'min. The point is that everyone knows 'how it is' - only it suites some people to deny it, and it is otherwise, to behave as if we were going to be here for ever. This is called *Kufr".* This is the defination of Shaikh Abdul-Qadir As-Sufi. *Kuffar* (the Plural of *Kafir)* are categorised into three(1) Pagans and atheists; which include Marxist-Leninists, secularists and all those that do not profess any other religion(2). Christians and Jews otherwise known as people of the book. They are *Kuffar* because they deny the prophethood of our beloved Apostle and they also associate Allah with partners. Anybody who associates partners with Allah no matter what religion he professes is a *Kafir.* (3) Hypocrite: Those who manifest Islam outwardly but inwardly they are unbelievers and covertly fight Islam. (Aisha Abdurrahman At-Tarjuman: Translation of the *meaning of man,* the foundation of the sciences of knowledge by Sidi Ali al-Jamal, Glossary by Shaikh AbdulQadir As-Sufi (for the defination of Kafir) pp.449-50 published by Diwan Press 1977).
16. This is an unfortunate state whereby one forgets the purpose of his creation by his creator and occupies himself with the things of this world. Such a person has no hope, no certainty, no intention, no future and no goal.
17. The day on which Allah shall Judge everyone according to his deeds.
18. See chapter one comment number (3)
19. Quran 18:21. It has been narrated from the early teachers and scholars (salaf) that there was confusion among the people of the time of the companions of the cave. Ikramah has said "among them were those who said it is the spiritual form that will be resurrected and not the physical form, then Allah resurrected the companions of the cave as a prove, the Ayat (verse) is on this". (Ibn Kathir op. cited vol.3 pp.77-79
20. Quran Surah 18 Ayat 25-26 Yusuf Ali's Translation "so they stayed in their cave three hundred years, and (some) Add nine (more), say: "Allah knows best How long they stayed: with him is (the knowledge of) the secrets of the heavens and the earth: how clearly He sees, how finely He hears (everything). They have no protector other than Him: nor does He share His command with any person whatsoever". According to Ibn Kathir the Ayat 25 has clearly stated that it is an information from Allah that they stayed in their cave for three hundred and nine years Lunar calendar and the people of the book say three hundred years because they use solar calendar. (For more information see Ibn Kathir op. cited Vol.3 p.80-81).

21. The Amir wanted the History of Kano to be documented and up-dated, he therefore instructed a scholar who was his friend to write it.

22. Quran 3:67. This refers to the first generation of the Jihad leaders and the Mujahidun (those who participated in the Jihad).

23. This is a further explanation of the comment that follows it proves that the christians and Jews are liars, the Apostle Ibrahim never followed their life transactions. He believed in the unity of Allah and was never a polytheist. (Shaikh Ahmad Mustapha Al-Maraghy: Tafsir al-maraghy 3rd ed. 1974 Darul Fikr Beirut Vol.1 pp 181-2 and Ibn Kathir op. cited Vol.I p. 373).

24. Quran chapter 3 verse 66 Yusuf Ali's Translation. "Matters in which you (people of the book) had some knowledge", these are the issues of prophets Musa and Isa (may Allah be pleased with them), in the case of Isa there is an evidence against you. Some of you were extremists, they attributed divinity to him, and some even claimed that he was a liar, thus your knowledge did not benefit you because it did not prevent you from making such mistakes. In the case of Ibrahim: you have no knowledge of his life transaction in your books then how do you know that he was either a Jew or a Christian. It is only logical that you follow the words of the Apostle of Allah. This Ayat does not imply that the Jews and Christians are knowledgeable but only exposes their contradictions, because they believe that they have knowledge on Musa and Isa what about Prophet Ibrahim? And Allah knows what has passed which you never experienced partaining to the issue of Apostle Ibrahim and others that you argue on, your knowledge is restricted to your experience. (based on the interpretations of Al-Alusy and Al-maraghy). (Alamat Mahmud al-Alusy. *Tafsir-al-Ruh-al-Maani* Vol. 3 p.195 Shaikh Maraghy op. cited Vol.1 p. 181).

25. Quran Surah 18 Ayat 22 Yusuf Ali's Translation, various groups of Christians and Jews have different interpretations concerning the number of the companions of the cave, Sayyiduna Abdullahi Ibn Abbas has, reported that the Al-Malakania believe that they were three and the fourth was their dog, Al-Uaqubiya believe that they were five, the sixth was their dog and Al-Nasturiya believe that they were seven, their dog was the eight. Allah has already indicated to us that the first two were only guessing and the last category were sure of their claim but Allah has said that He is the only one who knows best their numbers. Only a few other people know their actual number, Qatadah has narrated from Ibn Abbas who said "I am among those few people that Allah has mentioned: they were seven apart from their dog". The most important issue in the story of the companions of the cave is not their numbers but the lesson to be derived from their history (Based on the interpretation of Al-Maraghy op. cited p.135 Vol.5).

26. What happened in his absence either before he was born or when he was young he narrated from the undermentioned scholars.

27. For more information on him see Chapter 6 comment 15.

CHAPTER ONE

THE CALL OF THE SHAIKH AND PEOPLE'S RESPONSE

I made this chapter the first in this book so that the ignorant one will not assume that their (first generation jihadists') history has no ascription. I have quoted from writings of *Amir al-Mu'minin*(1) Abubakar(2) the son of the Shaikh the reformer the light of his time Uthman. Who said(3) that the Shaikh informed him that he found that the hearts of the people of his time were very narrow the space in each person's heart was as small as the hole of a needle(4). He persevered in devotion and prayer hoping that their hearts will be opened so that they could understand his statements, and remember them for the purpose of spreading knowledge, admonishment and awakening(4). Allah answered his prayer and opened their hearts as a result of the Shaikh's overflowing blessing (may Allah be pleased with him).

There were three different ways in which the people of that time came to know about the Shaikh and his teachings. The first was through his writings in Arabic, and his poems in our languages Hausa and Fulfulde. The second was through intinerant preachers who preached to members of the public or any individual they met. And the third was a kind of *Karamat*(5) *which we have heard and narrated* from more than one person. Through this *Karamat* a sleeper was waken up by a man and was made to look up to the West and East, left and right in all directions but will find no one he then goes back to sleep but the call will persist for a very long time. I have narrated from 'Alim Sulaiman(7) who informed me that when our uncle Dikoye(8) visited the Shaikh he showed him the man who was calling him (Dikoye) at night while he was asleep. This was the well-known Saint of Degel: Muhammad Kwairanga(9).

The Shaikh instructed all those who visited him to leave *Kafir* communities and establish their own communities. They obeyed the instruction of the Shaikh, communities were established and they remained in that state of consolidation for years. They continued to visit the Shaikh in one, in twos in threes and so on. They increased in number gradually as stated in this poem(10):

> "One by one we gathered
> until we became strong
> year by year we gathered".

The first to visit(11) the Shaikh were Abdurrahman known as *'Alim* Goshi(12) and his brother Jibril(13) a well known *'Alim* in Kano then *'Alim* Jammo(14), others were the following (in chronological order)

'Alim Bakatsine(15) *'Alim* Danzabuwa(16), *'Alim* Dabo Dambazau(17) *'Alim* Dan Gabuwa(18) *'Alim* Uthman Bahaushe(19) and other people followed majority of whom were Fulani and few from among the Hausas such as Uthman Bahaushe who was among us.

COMMENTARY

1. *Amir al Mu'minin* literarilly means Commander of the Faithful. It was first used in the time of Sayyiduna Umar Ibn Khattab (may Allah be pleased with him). In the Sokoto Caliphate the Khalifa was refered to as *Amiral-Mu'minin* and his deputies in other regions were individually refered to as *Amir* (Emir in English) e.g. *Amir* (Emir) of Kano. (On the origin of the word see Al-Hafiz Jalaludeen as-Suyiti: *Tarikh al-Khulafa* Beirut 1974 p.128.
2. Abubakar Atiku Ibn Shaikh Uthman he was born in 1783. He was not as knowledgeable as Shaikh Muhammad Bello but he claimed to have been informed of some secrets by Shaikh Uthman. He succeeded Shaikh Muhammad Bello in 1253 AH 26 October (1837). He was a very courageous committed and sincere *Mujahidd*. He died in Ramadan of late November 1842 at Katuru on his way back from campaign in which he sustained a wound. (S.J. Hogben: *An introduction to the History of The Islamic states of Northern Nigeria* OUP 1967 p.209, M. Last *The Sokoto Caliphate* pp.81-82.
3. Murray Last describes the manuscript as "curious" and that it might be proved as a forgery although he has stated that the secrets were also narrated in *Tabshir al-Ikhwan* of Abdulqadir Ibn Muhammad Bukhari. (M. Last *'The Sokoto Caliphate'* Longman 1977 p.81.
4. A Figurative expression meaning that they lacked guidance.
5. Karamat: For lack of a more appropriate word in English it could be translated as miracles. Abdulqadir as-Sufi has a more appropriate defination: "That is events in the phenomenal world that imply a break in the casual chain. It is not miracle that should be questioned. This is ignorance. The root of the matter is the nature of what seems to be the casual chain. It lies in perception. It is better to discuss the matter following the performance of a miracle. That is not an unusual event for the people of knowledge and no fuss is made about it". Miracles could be divided into two: *Karamat* performed by saints and *Mu'ujiza* performed by Prophets only. Although *Sihr* is a break in the casual chain it is not regarded as a miracle but magic, and it is not permissable in the Sharia because it is a deception and Shirk. Shaikh Uthman Fodio performed alot of *Karamat* (miracles) which have been documented by Wazir Gidado Ibn Laima in *Raud-al-Jinan*. Alhaji Wazir Junaid Ibn Muhammad Bukhari has also documented the *Karamat* of the Shaikh in his paper *"A contribution to the Biography of the Shaikh Uthman, mentioning the various places where He resided"*. It would be ignorant of anyone to doubt the existence of *Karamat* (miracles) because of the abundant evidences available. (For more information refer to Mallam U.F. Malumfashi. A Translation, *Analysis and Editing of Raud-Al-Jinan Fi Dhikr* M.A. Thesis ABC/ABU 1973, Ibn Taimiyyah: *Al-Nubuwat*, Beirut 1982, Al. Hafiz Jalaludeen Suyuti; Tarikh, op. cited, Ibn Qudama: *Al-Muguni* Vol.I pp.13-14 and Abbdul-Qadir as-Sufi Glossary to the meaning of man p.449 For the above quotation.
6. This man was used by the Shaikh in his Karamat as a messenger see comment (9) below.
7. He was one of the informants of Muhammad Ibn Salih. He might be Amir Sulaiman, but the man was not *sent to him (Amir Sulaiman) as suggested by H.I. Said in his dissertation "According to a Kano Manuscript, however the Kano Fulani came to know about Jihad both through the Shehu's writings and his Karamat or* miracle, it was believed that the Shehu had powers to communicate with other Fulani scholars in their sleep in the case of Kano, it is said that just before the Jihad started, Muhammad Kwairanga one of Shehu's students at Degel repeatedly appeared before Sulaiman Ibn Aba Hama in his sleep. Each time he appeared he would inform Sulaiman to lead all the Kano muslims to perform hijra in preparation for the Jihad. When these dreams became a daily affair Sulaiman informed the other scholars who agreed with him and began to prepare for the *Hijra*. The source of H.I. Said was 'Taqyid al-Akhbar' the two copies of the manuscript available during this research (BUK copy and Isa Taju's copy) do not contain this information. C.N. Ubah also refered to the particular copy of the manuscript (of the Meseum library Jos) used by H.I. Said, when he made this statement "At least Muhammad Zangi Ibn Salih the author of the Taqyid al-akhbar did not mention his (Sulaiman's) name among those actively involved in the Jihad at Kano." (H.I. Said *Revolution and Reaction The Fulani Jihad in Kano and its Aftermath*. Ph.D. Dissertation University of Michigan 1978 p.121 and C.N. Ubah. *The Emirate and the Central Government: The case of Kano-Sokoto relations'* (In The Sokoto Seminar papers edited by Y.B. Usman)(1979 p.299)
8. Dikoye Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Saleh Ibn Muhammad Geno (Bagyne) He was born in 1764. Dikoye was privileged to have been called by the Shaikh in this special manner. He lived with the Shaikh at Degel, Sifawa, Gwandu and Sokoto. Dikko (Dikoye) was a Poet, his two famous poems were Alamar Bayan Mahdi (ABM) which has been analysed by Dr. Abdulqadir Dangambo in his Ph.D. Thesis, and Tsoratarwa kan Mutuwa. In wakar zamanu which is in both Hausa and Fulfulde languages Dikko (Dikoye) praised the Shaikh it has been translated into English by Alh. Garba Said here is a verse of the translated poem:

"There are eleven Reformers in the history of Islam;
The 12th is the Saint of Allah, Usman
The 13th is Khitamad Din the Mahdi;
He who disobeys him has no hope of being
Blessed with God's (Allah's) pardon.
Usman is the Forerunner of the Mahdi;
Following after him the clouds then chase
after the Mahdi".

Dikko (Dikoye) returned to Tsangaya (a village in Gaya LGA Kano State after the death of Shaikh Uthman. His brother Salihu Ibn Muhammad was the Chief Qadi of Kano. Dikko (Dikoye) died in Tsangaya his grave is there and is still visited by many people. Abdulqadir Dangambo has suggested that he died between 1239 AH/1823 AD and 1249 AH/1833 AD, (Abdulqadir Dangambo: *Hausa WA'AZI verse from C.A. 1800 to C.A. 1970 A critical study of form content, language and style* Ph.D. Thesis SOAS Lond. 1980 Vol. 2 pp.2-4 and Alhaji Garba Said. *The significance of the Shehu's sermons and poems in Ajami;* Sokoto seminar papers edited by Y.B. Usman 1979 p.210).

9. Muhammad Kwairanga was a Saint, who was Mad-in-the Divine (Allah) i.e. a Majdhub, which is translated as "one under the divine attraction" by U.F. Malumfashi. (U.F. Malumfashi p.57)

10. This poem was quoted by the Author in Ajami (Hausa) there is no information on the poet.

11. They were all men of unquestionable integrity. They recognised the gnostic station of the Shaikh. They were Salihun: developed men; those in the right place at the right time. (Abdal-Qadir as Sufi: *Quranic Tawhid* pp.82 and 87-8 Diwan Press 1981).

12. He was the most respected and influential among the Muhajirun. He was offered the Emirship of Kano but he declined and nominated Sulaiman Ibn Abba Hamma. *'Alim* Abdurrahman was the Imam of Yolawa Mosque and at the same time a member of the Emirate Council. The present Madaki of Kano Alhaji Umaru Mahmud Yola is a descendant of *'Alim* Abdurrahman. (Interview M. Daud Dan Sarkin Kano Alu conducted in May 1987).

13. A younger brother of *'Alim* Abdurrahman. A Saint who had the knowledge of Allah, a respected scholar of repute, the Kano chronicle has reported that the Jihad leaders refused to meet Amir Sulaiman unless in the House of *'Alim* Jibril. He was against the entering of the houses of Habe Chiefs by the Jihad leaders he said "If we enter the Habe's houses and we beget children they will be like these Habes and do like them". *'Alim* Jibril was a Mujahid who led several Jihad campaigns, he died before his brother during the reign of *Amir* Sulaiman. (H.R. Palmer: *Sudanese Memoirs the Kano Chronicle* p.128 and interview with Mallam Musa Hussieni Madabo of Rijiyar Lemu).

14. One of the most learned scholars of the nineteenth century. He was offered the Emirship of Kano by Shaikh Uthman but he declined. He was a teacher and Chief counsellor of Amir Sulaiman. It has been reported by the Sullubawa oral tradition that Amir Sulaiman once asked *'Alim* Jammo why did he refuse to accept the Emirship of Kano and he replied that he never wanted his children to be involved in running public affairs because of chances of deviation from the Sharia. Amir Sulaiman asked 'Alim Jammo to pray for him so that his children will not succeed him. (U.F. Malumfashi op. cited p.50 paragraph 78, S.J. Hogben and A.H.M. Kirk-Greene: *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria* p.198 and also interview with Dr. Isa Hashim a descendant of *'Alim* Jammo).

15. He was one of the most learned scholars of the time of Shaikh Uthman, mentioned by *'Alim* Gidado Dan Laima in his *Raud al-Jinan*, *'Alim* Bakatsine left his hometown of Utchan in search of knowledge and studied with renowned scholars of his time until he became a scholar himself. Among his teachers were *'Alim* Jibril the famous teacher of Shaikh Uthman (may Allah be pleased with them), Mallam Kisko of Katsina (*'Alim* Bakatsine might have studied at Yandoto). Others were Mallam Mai Farar Kasa of Kano and Mallam Abdullahi of Madabo Kano.

After the Jihad *'Alim* Bakatsine remained in Wudil and appointed his son Mandikko to represent him in the Emirate Council. According to oral sources Mandikko was First appointed Madaki then Makama which remained with the Jobawa. The Children of *'Alim* Bakatsine were Mandikko, and Jaruma. (U.F. Malumfashi op. cited p.50 paragraph 78 and interview with Mallam Musa Hussien Madabo, Rijiyar Lemu 23/5/87).

16. One of the most learned scholars of the nineteenth century, he studied in different places such as Kurkujam in Katsina and perhaps at Yandoto, he returned to Danzabuwa where he had his cattle and Farm. He later moved to Kano and lived in Daneji Quarters (named after his clan). Most of the historians were of the opinion that *'Alim* Danzabuwa was the leader of the Kano *Jama'a* this is false the actual leader of the Kano *Jama'a* was *'Alim* Dangabuwa (see comment 18 below). *'Alim* Danzabuwa was a member of the Emirate council, when he died his son Muhammad Thani (Sani) succeeded him. The brothers of Danzabuwa who participated in the Jihad were Isa and Jammo. The descendants of *'Alim* Danzabuwa have been associted with the title of Dan Iya. (U.F. Malumfashi op. cited p.49 paragraph 78, Adamu M. Fika: *Kano Civil war and British overrule*, p.16, W.F. Gowers, *Gezatter of Kano Province* p.11 and interview with Mallam Musa Hussain).

17. His full name was Yunusa Dabo Ibn Umar he came from Dambam a town near Misau (Bauchi State). He stayed briefly at Gaskole, studied with some scholars and then moved to Dambazau (which was named after his clan). From there he moved to Dambatta and, then Kano city where he lived in Sarkin Dawaki Maituta's house and then he moved to Dambazau quarters and he had his cattle at Garke. He was one of the richest Jihad leaders and he made the highest financial contribution. (May Allah reward him). His teachers were; *'Alim*: Ali, *'Alim* Yusuf, *'Alim* Ibrahim *'Alim* Abdurrahman Chingiti and Shaikh *'Alim* Abdullahi Ibn

Fodio who lived in Dabo's house where he wrote his *Diya al-Hukam*. *'Alim* Dabon Dambazau became one of the most learned scholars of the nineteenth century.

According to Dambatta District note book *'Alim* Dabo Dambazau participated in the Jihad campaigns of Tabkin Kwato and Alkalawa after their liberation he received the flag (with other Jihad leaders) and returned to Kano. But this is unlikely because just before the Jihad the Shaikh instructed all his followers from other parts of Hausaland to return to their homes and prepare for the Hijra and subsequently jihad in their regions and the Tabkin Kwato encounter was after the Shaikh's Hijra to Gudu. Moreover the jihad in Kano was in progress when Alkalawa was defeated in 1223 A.H. (1808) and *'Alim* Dabo Dambazau was actively involved in the jihad in Kano. He also married the daughter of *'Amir* Ibrahim Dabo. His children were Ishaq, Muhammad Kwairanga, Abdulqadir Jilani, Ahuba, Isa, Musa, Umar and many others. Among the descendants of *'Alim* Dabo Dambazau are the present Sarkin Bai Alhaji Mukhtar Adanan, a prominent first Republic politician, a member of the first House of Representative, a spokesman of the NPC Government particularly on Foreign affairs and he was also a Commissioner in the First Executive Council of Kano State and Lawal Dambazau a prominent politician of first and second republics, (interview with Mallam Musa Hussain conducted on 9/5/87 Danbatta District note book Kano Ministry for Local Government (From John Chamberlin's notes) and U.F. Malumfashi op. cited p.50 paragraph 78).

18. A learned scholar, leader of the Kano *Jama'a* who was martyred during the course of the Jihad he has been confused by most historians with *'Alim* Danzabuwa. I have not been able to obtain any more information about him other than what is contained in this book. (H.I. Said op. cited p.122).

19. A Hausa Scholar, who was among the most learned men of the nineteenth century. He accepted the Shaikh and fought the Jihad. He was a member of the Emirate Council and Chief Qadi of Kano. Throughout the nineteenth century his descendants were the title holders of Magajin Mallam, until the Kano civil war when they refused to support Yusuf (U.F. Malumfashi op. cited p.50 paragraph 78).

CHAPTER TWO

THE HIJRA AND ITS AFTERMATH

Allah had already indicated(1) to the Shaikh the nature of his Hijra(2) before its time, the *Amir al-Mu'minin* Abubakar has narrated from him in the *Maqam*(3) of Shaikh Jafar he said that the Shaikh informed(4) him that "I dreamt of 10,000 beads praising Allah and I asked what were they saying and I was told that they are praying for your victory". From that Allah indicated to him these five that he was given Jihad, that he would enjoin good actions, that he would be victorious over his enemies, that he would appoint *Amirs* to different regions and that he would not visit the Holy House of Allah (perform the Hajj) as he had wished.

When the Shaikh decided to make Hijra and subsequently Jihad he instructed all those who were with him (from all parts of the Sudan) to return to their regions because it was time for Hijra. The Shaikh wrote his message (manifesto)(5) to various communities instructing them make Hijra. The message to the Kano Community was brought by Mallam Adamu(6) and Ladan Goja and it was handed over to *Alim* Dangabuwa. The leaders of the clans(7) that answered the Shaikh's call corresponded among themselves and later met *'Alim* Dangabuwa(8). They were *'Alim* Abdurrahman the leader of the Bae clan(9) *'Alim* Bakatsine of the Jobawa clan(10) *Alim* Jammo of the Sullubawa clan(11) *'Alim* Dabo of the Danbazawa(12) clan *'Alim* Danzabuwa of the Danejawa(13) clan and *'Alim* Uthman head of the Hausas(14) they held consultations on the issue of the appropriate place to make the Hijra to and the time for it. There was consensus that they should enter Fagoje (Kwazazabau)(15) during the month of Jumada Awwal(16).

The community of Kanwa(17) and Yola made the Hijra on Thursday. The community of Yola arrived Tofa(18) and later reached Durma from there they moved and arrived at a place called Fagoje in our language fulfulde and Kwazazabau in our language Hausa on the 16th of Jumada Awwal they stayed in this area for four months. The pagans in the area vacated their homes leaving their property including food. When the *Jama'a* arrived some of its members went into the vacant homes to take the food and properties that were left behind. They met one of the pagans protecting his property at the same time fighting the muslims. Dan Dayya shot him with an arrow which killed him and asked 'how can we leave a *Kafir* to be fighting muslims without any genuine reasons'. This *Kafir's* name was Bimma, he was the first *Kafir* to be killed by the first arrow of the Jihad which was shot by Dan Dayya.

This news reached the village head of Bebeji[19] and he sent a message to their Tyrant who was at Takai[20]. The Tyrant was informed that "the weak whom you know and the poor of whom we give alms and learn from our scholars in the city have gathered intending what they intend. To the extent that our people who were living near the place they gathered vacated their homes. They came and started carrying their food they found one of our respected elders Bimma protecting his property and killed him". His (village head of Bebeji's)[21] message and end of his life coincided and he died instantaneously. The children and relatives of the village Head of Bebeji held a meeting after which they sent a message to Takai (where the Tyrant was). The Tyrant appointed Gyanako to his late Father's Office, on the condition that he must burn the houses of the *Jama'a*, kill their men, seize their ladies, capture their leaders chain them and bring them to him, Gyanako accepted, and then returned and assembled his army.

Gyanako and his men attacked the *Jama'a*. They confronted each other and Allah routed both armies. In this encounter many of the Yola community were injured. Ibrahim Mulelu, Dikko, Yahadi and some others were martyred. When this news reached the Tyrant he mounted immediately and left Takai in a hasten procession. He used to pass by *'Alim* Bakatsine who prays for him and he (the tyrant) gives him gifts but this time[22] it was not possible he only stopped and made a sign to him (the royal greeting) and continued his journey. The tyrant spent the night at Jidou and arrived at his capital the following day in the morning. He gathered all the information from the most informed and convened his scholars and Chiefs and consulted them. They said that the army was defeated because the soldiers were from the countryside. It was therefore agreed that those to be drafted this time should be from the urban area and that he should appoint one of his Chiefs as the commander. The army was gathered at the west of his Territory and Barde[23] Bakure was appointed as the commander. They pursued the *Jama'a* but they were also defeated. When they returned and the news reached him (the tyrant) he summoned another meeting for consultation they agreed that a larger army should be established and he demanded that they should give him some time. It was suggested that he should send a message to them (the *Jama'a)* and wait for their reply.

Meanwhile he sent the following people as envoys to (negotiate with) the *Jama'a* they were *'Alim* Dan Dhuln'ima, Jakadan Kardewa, Mallam Hayu and Zayan al-Arabi. The Chiefs of the *Jama'a* assembled at their meeting place and read his letter while other members of the *Jama'a* surrounded them in all directions and were looking at them with astonishment. They replied that he (the tyrant) should repent, make Hijra like any other muslim (in other words join the *Jama'a)* and worship Allah without associating Him with any

partners. And when Allah permits the *Jama'a* to become established all over the region, they shall return him back to his capital and give him back his kingdom (install him as the legitimate *Amir)*[24]. On their way back Jakadan Kardewa died of stomach ache because he was frightened that the *Jama'a* will seize their authority. When they returned the tyrant convened his chiefs and scholars, and asked for the reply of his letter, one of the envoys said "no written reply was given but in words". The most informed among their scholars (whose name was) Abdulqadir who was also their Imam said that this confirms the *Jama'a's* collective ignorance, this was also the opinion of their judge. And all their scholars claimed that they never heard a Prophet whose name[25] was either Faty, Jaoje or Dabo. They said "why do you listen and turn to them? (advised him not to respond to the *Jama'a)*. You should convene all able bodied men from all parts of your kingdom, men of the city and villages, including, shephards, hunters, other tribes including Tauregs and Kanuri infact no one should be left and we shall form armies that they shall not be able to confront". He asked the chiefs "have you heard the opinion of the scholars? What is your opinion? Do you agree with their opinion? and they said "yes we agree with their consensus". And they dispersed.

BATTLE OF IZZATUL ISLAM[26]

The Tyrant decreed that all those in his kingdom from East and West, left and right must assemble in order to select those that will be drafted into the army which he intended to command. His order was obeyed and able-bodied individuals from all parts of his kingdom arrived. A very large army 'that the earth could not support' was inaugurated the *Jama'a* became terrified when the news of this development reached them despite the fact that people were accepting Islam everyday (their number was increasing). When people stopped joining them and they were seriously frightened later they became calm waiting for this battle. When they (Tyrant's men) assembled he appointed Sarkin Dawaki Ali as their commander. This battalion had alot of arms and ammunitions carried by camels, which included construction and farming implements for digging sand to block paths, for the destruction of houses, and for blocking the entrance of the cave which the *Jama'a* entered. And they were expected to make a surprise attack on the *Jama'a.*

The Tyrant had instructed them to kill all males even if 'it was a baby in the manger', capture the females (make them *prisoners/slaves) and the chiefs of the Jama'a* should also be captured, chained and brought to him. They accepted these obligations. The news of this army reached the *Jama'a* from all directions after consultations they decided to lock up the gate of their settlement but it was not possible. Murneji climbed a raised platform in order to view the advancing forces. He saw the dust that has been raised by their movement. He informed the *Jama'a* that all the houses

have been surrounded from all directions and (said) "the entrance of the first cave is (the only one left) for us". This information made the ladies to weep and they said "this is destruction, we are destroyed today no doubt" and the men were beaten out in silence . Their Chiefs, piousmen and scholars left the issue to Allah. Despite their desparation their hope in Allah was firm, had good opinion of Him and were confident that He shall help them with victory against their enemies (Alwali and his men).

When they approached the *Jama'a* they saw the *Jama'a* as if they were firmly established mountains, which do not move (i.e. they were terrified at the sight of the *Jama'a).* Both parties started shooting each other with arrows. The General led them into the door of the *Jama'a's* settlement and was followed by the commander of the army until they entered the settlement and burnt the first houses of the *Jama'a* they continued burning until they came to the centre of the *Jama'a.* The commander of the army told Barde "these are their houses burn them". Barde said "what have you done? because you have not seen their raised flags you will see them now". At that time the leaders of the *Jama'a,* the scholars and the pious men were holding their flags. Barde said look at those flags if you see their end then you have seen the limit of the *Jama'a.* A serious fight took place between the *Jama'a* and their enemies. Many were martyred (in this encounter), Allah routed the Army of the *Kuffar* in the centre of the houses of the *Jama'a.* Nobody was captured, instead they were killed. They made everybody to fight them even the ladies (of the *Jama'a)* were killing them. The strength of their army disappeared in the centre of the houses of the *Jama'a.* They started looking for an exit, they found a cave in the valley which was the deepest and they stayed inside it until they occupiedit with their horses, men and animals to the extent that the commander of the (tyrant's) army Sarkin Dawaki Ali was riding on top of them and he came out freely (escaped). The *Jama'a* got alot of booty and they found many worldy things that could not be estimated these included horses, camels, ladies (slaves), swords, armours and many others.

Dantunku accepted Islam[27] at this point when he saw their defeat and he started fighting, killing and capturing them he was hitherto among them. These encounter became known as the battle of *IZZAT AL-ISLAM*[28] and it was known in Hausa as YAKIN DAUKAR GIRMA'. That was sixty-years ago, from that day to date Islam became strong. After this encounter there was freedom they went out doing whatever they wished. The *Jama'a* advanced to Gamawa on Thursday and it was liberated with Allah's help. They captured some of the enemies and then released them, they *(Jama'a)* returned to their abode in peace with (considerable amount of) War booty. They were increasing in number, people were joining the *Jamma'a* in crowds and paths were opened (i.e. there was free movement).

MINOR BATTLES, SHA'ABAN

There was the battle of Kabo[29] and the town was liberated by the *Jama'a* who fought and captured their enemies. Then the Battle of Masnawa which was liberated, prisoners were taken but they were later pardoned and released. The Battle of Gwodiya[30] took place the - *Jama'a* were made to fight in that place. Dan Tama gave them a surprise attack. They were driven out of the fortified town. Allah tested them an excellent test many of them were martyred. They returned the following morning and entered the fortified town but nobody was found (the inhabitants have deserted) they burnt the town and returned in peace. Other settlements dispersed with the news of the burning of Gwodiya. Birnin Mallam submitted to the *Jama'a* so did the city of Kofa[31] whose Chief Turmi joined the *Jama'a* (and fought as a Mujahid in subsequent battles). He was appointed the Head of Bebeji. People were joining the *Jama'a* every day. All these battles took place in Rajab. As for Gynako when he learnt of Turmi's authority in Bebeji, he entered Kura[32] and Turmi entered Bebeji.

The Battle of Karaye[33] took place on Friday at the beginning of Ramadan, *'Alim* Danzabuwa commanded the Muslim forces at that battle. And Allah tested them, an excellent test. Then the Battle of (the remarkable) Ardo Sabti took place the following morning. When they (the *Jama'a)* were prevented from escaping and were put to rout, Ardo Sabti fought bravely and was martryed (may Allah have mercy on him). He was the only Fulani head who became a *Mujahid* from among the ignorant Fulani's[34]. The *Jama'a* were at ease during the month of Ramadan[35] and occupied themselves with *Ibadat* (ritual acts of service to Allah) until *id al-Fitr* (end of Ramadan). The *Jama'a* moved with their families and children.

LIBERATION OF KARAYE, AND MALLAM JATAU

They advanced to Bunga this was their first station in the month of Shawwal[36]. From there, they moved to Kumasi and later arrived Karaye intending to drink some water but they were attacked by the Kuffar at the drinking place they fought for the whole day and the town was liberated after *Asr* (in the afternoon).

It was at this place that Barde and Dan Tama came to the *Jama'a* with their army and descended on the valley at night unaware that the *Jama'a* were on the Eastern and Western sides of the Valley. Gun shots were fired three times by Barde's troops and immediately the - *Jama'a* were alerted. They advanced and surrounded Barde's troops and there was a mass slaughter few of them survived Barde Bakure was among those killed. They took all their horses and one fifth[37] of the war booty. After three days they found them in a place

near Mallam Musa(38) who was alone, he was later appointed *Amir* of Zak zak. It was at this place that the *Jama'a* was informed of the *Amir* of Zakzak, Jatau's(39) acceptance of Islam. Who also demanded that an *'Alim* should be sent to him so that he could teach him his *deen* (life transaction), and *'Alim* Danzabuwa was appointed to fulfill this task. When they *('Alim* Danzabuwa and others) reached Zaria they saw *Amir* Jatau with the turban of ahl-Sunnah(40). Amir Jatau said to his family "Today I am with the *Ahl-Sunnah* and whoever becomes an apostate from amongst you I shall fight him" and he died as a Muslim.

DISAGREEMENT

And then we(41) advanced to Magami(42) from there to Hawady and then Gora(43). It was at Gora that a misunderstanding occured which nearly brought a division of the *Jama'a. 'Alim* Abdurrahman said "we should move northwards" and *'Alim* Jammo said "we should move rightwards (Eastwards) and join *'Alim* Bakatsine"(44). *'Alim* Abdurrahman made an observation on *'Alim* Jammo's suggestion, he said "if we concentrate all our efforts in one place and leave all other areas they will, with the help of tyrants of Katsina and Damagaram form a very large army which we cannot withstand. With Allah's help a consensus was reached and they advanced Northwards.

FARIN TABKI, TOFA, BICHI AND AGUNBULU

The *Jama'a* arrived at Farin Tabki from where they moved to Tofa their arrival coincided with that of the army of the *Kuffar* and they were attacked (by the army of the *Kuffar)* before they disembarked. And with Allah's help the *Kuffar* were put to rout. The members of the *Jama'a* retained their horses(45) in order to cross the Watari river(46) which had a narrow passage. They advanced to Tatarawa(47) and then Damargu(48) where the people of Bichi(49) and Tofa swore their allegience (accepted the authority of the *Jama'a*). From there they moved to Marke(50) but later returned to Tatarawa where they were attacked by Agunbulu's Battalion. Agunbulu(51) was given 4,000 horses by the Tyrant of Kano to enable him burn all the houses of the *Jama'a*. He assembled his army and advanced he found that the *Jama'a* had moved to Tatarawa and he burnt their houses. Allah saved the *Jama'a that moment with the late arrival of the Sullubawa community. They (Sullubawa) advanced* when the rout occured they pursued the *Kafir* army vigorously shooting them with arrows. Some of the *Kuffar* ran away voluntarily

while others were forced to escape after the martyrdom of many of the *Jama'a*. They (*Jama'a)* killed Agunbulu al-Tablu (the drummer) Chief of the Army (of the *Kuffar)*. They (the *Kuffar)* became weak, demoralised and frightened and Allah dispersed the army of the *Kuffar,* the *Jama'a* pursued their traces. When they returned from the pursuit of the *Kuffar* they headed for Tomas(52). The following morning the *Kuffar* returned to Tatarawa but did not meet any one so they pursued them to the valley of Tomas. When the *Kuffar* reached Tomas they saw (met) the *Jama'a* and then returned to Madachi and Jalli(53) were the Tyrant instructed them to camp and remain there until they accomplish their goal (which was to defeat the *Jama'a)*. They conducted raids and caught prisoners from this camp everyday.

THE MARTYRDOM OF *'ALIM* DANGABUWA

When the *Kuffar* decided to fight they cut down all the surrounding trees, the place became an open space without any objects hence it was called *Thabiru*. They attacked the *Jama'a* by tactfully concealing their strength, the *Jama'a* saw only those who were close to them. They (the *Kuffar)* retreated, (but) a decietful retre t, the - *Jama'a* were un-aware of this, until when they passed the concealed men *(Kuffar)*. They attacked the *Jama'a,* there was a rout and many from among the *Jama'a* were martyred. The *Kuffar* returned to their camps which were located at Jalli and Madachi the - *Jama'a* also camped near them and were alerted for the whole night. The following morning the two armies confronted each other, a battle took place and *'Alim* Dan Gabuwa (may Allah have mercy on him) was martyred. The Mujahiddun were calm until they returned to their families. The - *Jama'a* returned the following morning and fought for the whole day and Allah dispersed the army of the *Kuffar* after *Asr* prayer. The two villages, Madachi and Jalli were liberated, although they were burnt as a result of this battle.

DAWAKI(54)

The Tyrant was angry because of the liberation of the two villages therefore he came out on Friday and horses were following him until the end of the day. He also had seven hundred armoured men. He advanced until he approached the *Jama'a* who saw him, he then changed direction to Dawaki, without passing by the *Jama'a.* He destroyed the town, killed all those in it including its Judge(55). The - *Jama'a* assembled, the Tyrant's army were concealed by (the darkness of) the night, the *Jama'a* made the Takbir ("Allahu Akbar")(56) they were also shooting the *Kuffar* with arrows. The Tyrant's army did not

move because of their strength and size and the highly experienced and urbanised men among them. Dan Tunku and Maiduniya were with the *Jama'a* during this encounter. The - *Jama'a* left the area the following day in the morning and were followed by the Tyrants. The *Jama'a* moved northwards and camped at Bakin Ruwa while the Tyrants camped at Dan Yaya and the sound of their drums could be heard by the *Jama'a*.

And they divided their soldiers into groups (Battalions) Dan Tama commanded the Battalion that entered Magoda and Botena those in the east were stationed at Bagwai while those in the West were stationed at Gwarmai. These battalions confronted the *Jama'a* for four months in ninety three encounters (battles). The tyrant did not appear until after ninety battles and he commanded the battlion that attacked the *Jama'a* on Monday at dawn and burnt all the houses of *'Alim* Danzabuwa. The situation became critical, the rest of the *Jama'a* advanced and pursued them out of the houses. They stayed after taking over the houses. They (the *Jama'a)* fought for the whole day but did not disperse them until sunset. None of the martyrs was buried that night, except those who were in the centre of the houses. After a while the Tyrant's men returned to observe whether the *Jama'a* were still within the vaccinity and were surprised to find them there. They asked "are you still in this place" and were replied "yes we are still in this place and here we shall remain".

ASSISTANCE FROM DAURA AND LIBERATION OF DANYAYA

The Tyrant of Daura(57) aided the tyrant of Kano, and the following morning there was a brief battle. I have already explained to you extensively how three battles were fought but did not explain the other ninety battles (because it will be too monotonous).

The situation was very difficult for the *Jama'a* and their condition became pathetic due to hunger and other difficulties and they were greatly shaken. A council meeting was summoned some of them were of the opinion that they should advance and join *'Alim* Bakatsine who was in Gaya(58) he had earlier sent them a message informing them of his entry into the city. They were about to agree with this opinion when some of them asked how do we move and they were replied that they should move at night, "because, if we pass this valley not a single one of them will see us". *'Alim* Abdurrahman observed "If we do that it means we are running away(59)". And they turned to *'Alim* Jibril saying "You have not said anything" and he replied "we should attack them and Allah will Judge between us and everything will be over by tomorrow in sha Allah" they all agreed with this opinion.

At sunset they started advancing (towards the Tyrant's army) and they descended on them. They were pursued by the army stationed in those three villages earlier listed. A battle began everyone was fighting the enemy that was by his side. When the *Jama'a* arrived at Danyaya(60) the *Kuffar* said "you have come to us with the finishing stroke". And the ladies of the *Jama'a* raised their voices with high tone and said "your consultation was good". They spent the whole night fighting and capturing (taking prisoners) at dawn Allah liberated the town for them. They were made to kill and capture, and the town was burnt, the army started dispersing when they saw the town engulfed in flames. None of them turned back in order to know what was happening behind. The Tyrant remained in their (town's) graveyard until when scholars of the *Jama'a* instructed that he should be allowed to leave(61) since he had "experienced one of the Great signs of Allah"(62) and they opened the gate for him. The Tyrant returned to his capital most of his men deserted him, few remained with him these were his two sons Madawaki and Chiroma(63) and his slaves Sarkin Yara, Sarkin Shanu and a few others.

And success is to those who are conscious of Allah(64) and praise be to Him. After this victory many ambassadors came in crowds from different parts of Kano, Katsina and Daura and they accepted the *Deen* of Allah (and also pledged to uphold it).

LETTER FROM ALWALI AND HIS EXODUS

After this victory at the beginning of Sha'aban the *Jama'a* moved to Bagwai(65) then to Damargu. The people of Bagwai violated the truce made with the *Jama'a* this made them to return there and it was liberated. From Bagwai they advanced to Gwogwori(66) then to Farin Ruwa(67) from there to Tambari then to Zambere. From there to Kurkujan (68) where they met Umaru Dallaji(69) and *'Alim* Ishaq(70). They were engaged in battles for four months and when the situation became unbearable due to severe hunger the *Jama'a* of Kano had to return.

They arrived at Tabani on their horses then they moved to Farin Ruwa then to Gwogwori, from there to Bagwai then Bichi. From there to Damargu and then Tomas. From Tomas a battalion under the command of *'Alim* Jibril was sent to Fagay. The town was destroyed and many inhabitants were taken prisoners. The Sultan (tyrant) of Kano was restricted to his capital (Kano). He sent the following as representatives to (negotiate for peace with) the *Jama'a; 'Alim* Kabara, Mallam Gabto, Dan Gwuranduma Sumailu, Mallam Jabbo al-Falati and Mallam Goja. They delivered Alwali's letter to the *Jama'a* in which he stated his repentance and willingness to join the *Jama'a,* obey all their

instructions and that he was ready to meet them even if it means travelling on foot. The *Jama'a* replied that "we have instructed you to do that at the beginning but you refused and assembled your army and sent them to attack us and Allah disgraced you. And now that you have neither movement nor power, you have turned to us"(71) The - *Jama'a* rejected his appeal, they replied that they shall attack him on 12th of Rabi'u Awwal.

The Tyrant Awali went out of Kano on Sunday night after the return of his representative with the reply (from the *Jama'a)* he stayed in Rano briefly then moved to Zakzak (Zaria) where he lived for a year. The *Jama'a* entered his capital (Kano) on Monday night 12th of *Rabiu al-Awwal* and captured the city (it was liberated). They(72) entered the city forty days after his departure in another narration forty-one days on the 20th of *Rabi al-akhir.* And from that day they have been in the capital. This brought an end to all expeditions and migrations.

HIJRA AND JIHAD IN THE EAST OF KANO

As for *'Alim* Bakatsine the *Jama'a* had consulted him on the issue of Hijra and he intended to make the Hijra(73) to join them but it was not possible for him. Magajin Jobe and Kaoje asked (*'Alim* Bakatsine): "inform us on what you are, you and your community". *'Alim* Bakatsine replied "I believe in the Hijra(74) just like my brothers and I shall join them". They advised him to enter Wudil(75). The *Jama'a* held consultation on what they (magajin Jobe and Kawaji) have said and they reached a consensus that he should enter Wudil. All the clans of the East that accpeted the Shaikh assembled at his presence. They included Jalube(76) with Salihu(77) Ibn Muhammad the *'Alim* known as Duttiwa as their leader and they have become known today as Gyanawa(78). And the Yaligawa(79) a Borno tribe led by Salihu(80) who was appointed as the Head of Dutse Gaduwur after its liberation, there were also other clans that accepted the Shaikh. They camped at Wudil for nine months. When the Tyrant Alwali heard of the gathering of these clans he raised a military contigent under the command of the Head of Dutse Gojabu(81) who marched and fought with the - *Jama'a.* Allah defeated the army of the *Kuffar.* The *Jama'a* got possession of their horses and other worldly materials. The camps of the *Kuffar* were destroyed. The *Jama'a* advanced to Gaya a battle took place inside the city and the town was liberated(82). They camped there for a month and then moved eastwards and arrived at Aujara(83) they fought in the town and it was liberated. From there they moved to Taura(84) where the *Jama'a* suffered from hunger, thirst and also at the battle ground which made them to leave the town. They turned to the

right and arrived at Kiyawa(85) where they fought Katanga they were also weakened. They left and arrived Wamdae which Allah liberated for them. They later moved to Takai and its inhabitants deserted they entered the town, the news of the liberation of Takai reached the Tyrant while he was in his capital city and he decided to move to Rano(86). The *Jama'a* moved northwards and met their muslim brothers in Tomas, all praise be to Allah. This brought an end to their reign (otherwise the end of the Kutumbi Dynasty)(87).

SHAIKH MAGHILI AND CHRONOLOGY OF KANO RULERS

And we have read in their ancient history some inconsistencies upon which historians did not agree,(88) concerning the names of their Sultans (and their chronology). Not all of them were in authority, from the time of Bagauda who was the first to the time of Muhammad Rumfa, it was in Rumfa's time that Shaikh Muhammad Ibn Abdulkarim Al-Maghili Al-Tilmisani (may Allah have mercy on him)(89) came to Kano and Islam became manifest during that period. Shaikh Maghili gave birth to three sons, Muhammad Khatani, Ahmadu Maigari and Isa Sidifari(90). The progeny of Shaikh Al-Maghili are still found and the head of the Shariffs(91) has become known as Sidi Fari. We narrated from ancient history that al-Maghili brought date palm and planted it specifically in this country and it became useful for his people. It has been said that between the time of Rumfa in whose time Islam appeared(92) by the blessing of Al-Maghili and the time of Alwali in whose time Shaikh Uthman the light of the century appeared is three hundred and forty-eight years. It is necessary for us to list the names of their Kings inorder to express gratitude to Allah who has bestowed favour on the *Jama'a* by bringing to an end this great ancient dynasty as a result of the overflowing blessing of the Shaikh the light of the century. Their first was BAGAUDA who ruled for seventy years then the following chronologically

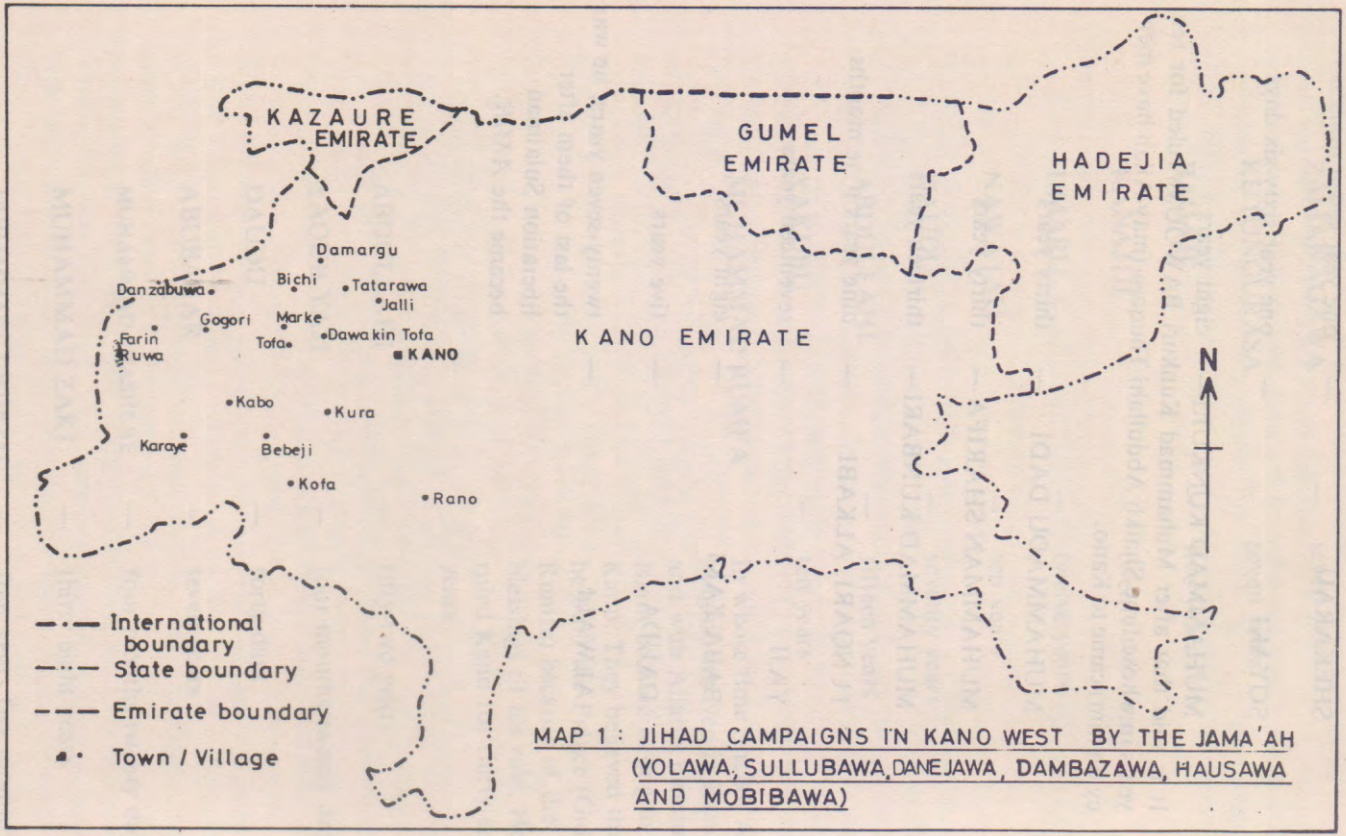
TSARAKA	—	two years
KHAWNASU	—	forty years
ABU GIJI	—	two years
GWUDUWA	—	fifty years
MAKANKARI	—	fifty-one years
KARAURAWA	—	eighty years

RANDA	—	Thirty years
ZAMANAGAWA	—	seven years
KUTUNGURASA	—	seven years
BAGAJI	—	five years
KANAJIJI	—	twenty-two years
UMARU	—	twelve years
NAWATAU	—	ten years
DAUDU	—	seventy years
ABDULLAHI	—	fifteen years
YAKUBU	—	ten years
MUHAMMAD RUMFA		In whose time Shaikh Al-Maghili arrived in Kano and with Allah's blessing Islam became strong in Kano. They believed that he built the Palace (Gidan Rumfa) because of the blessings of his rule. He ruled Kano for thirty-seven years
ABDULLAHI	—	fifty-two years
YAQUB YAJI	—	four months twenty days
DAUDU	—	forty days
ABUBAKAR	—	seven years
MUHAMMAD SHASHERE	—	four months twenty days
MUHAMMAD ZAKI	—	thirty eight years
MUHAMMADU GWURZAU	—	four years five months
ALWALI KUTUMBI	—	twenty-six years

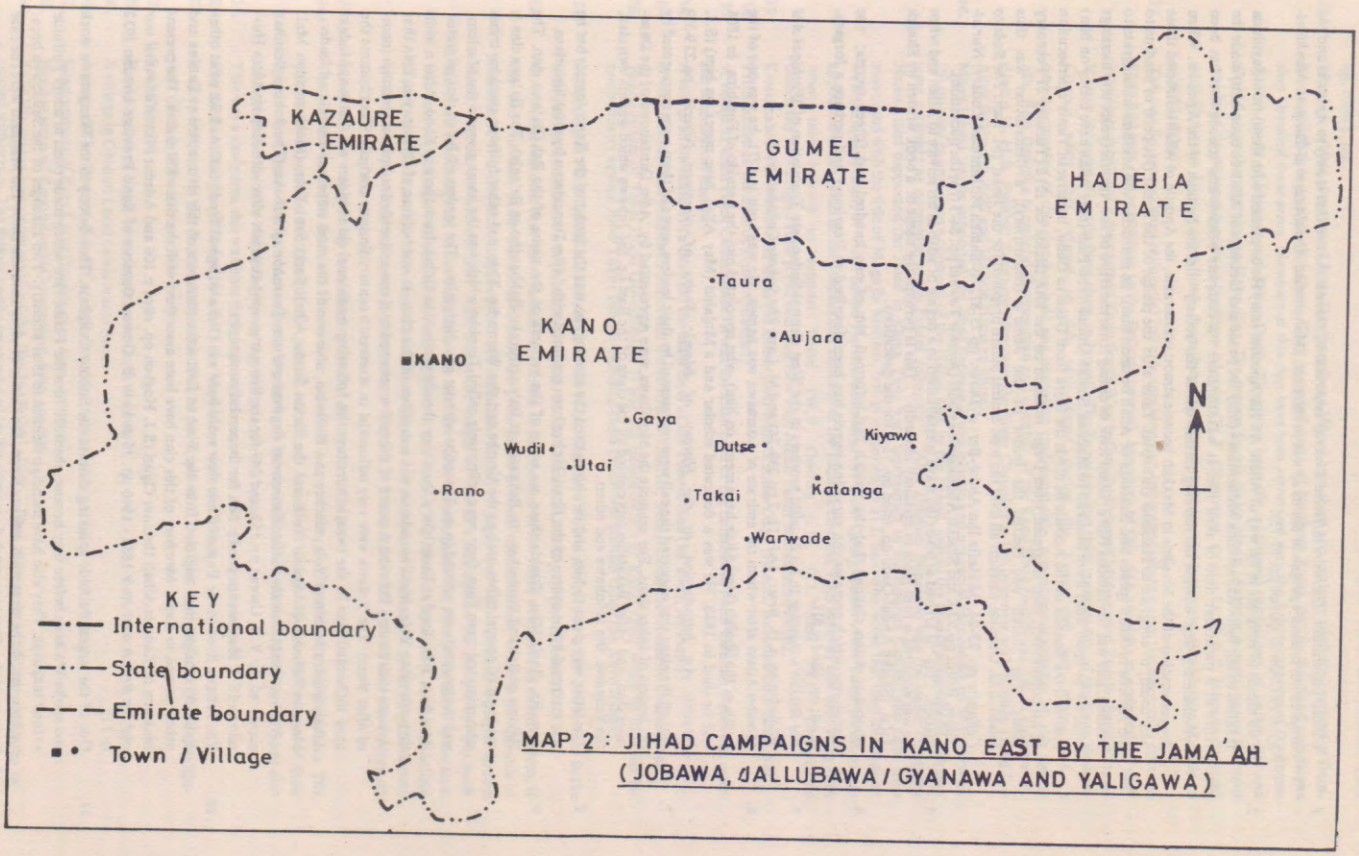
ALHAJI	—	one year
SHEKARAU	—	one year seven months
SOYAKI	—	one year sixty-six days
MUHAMMAD KUNKURI	—	eight years

It is said that after Muhammad Kunkuri BAWOU[93] ruled for ten years in whose time Shaikh Abdullahi Thuqa[94] (may Allah have mercy on him) came to Kano.

MUHAMMADU DADI	—	thirty years
MUHAMMAN SHARIFA	—	thirty years
MUHAMMAD KUNBARI	—	thirteen years
IUNQARI, ALKABI	—	nine years nine months
YAJI	—	seventeen years
BABA ZAKI	—	eight years
DAUDA	—	five years
ALWALI	—	twenty-seven years, he was the last of them after liberation Sulaiman became the *AMIR*.



MAP 1 : JIHAD CAMPAIGNS IN KANO WEST BY THE JAMA'AH (YOLAWA, SULLUBAWA, DANEJAWA, DAMBAZAWA, HAUSAWA AND MOBIBAWA)



MAP 2 : JIHAD CAMPAIGNS IN KANO EAST BY THE JAMA'AH
(JOBAWA, DALLUBAWA / GYANAWA AND YALIGAWA)

1. *Guided inspiration. There are different kinds of inspirations, there is the one that is only to Apostles and the other to the ordinary people or Saints as was in this case. (Muhammad AbdulAzeem al-Zurqani: Manhil al-irfan Fi-Ulum al-Quran* pp. 63-73).

2. This means to emigrate in the way of Allah. All His Apostles (may He be pleased with them) from Sayiduna Ibrahim to our beloved Sayiduna Muhammad (May the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) made the Hijra at a particular time of their life. It was therefore "a complete behavioural science that has been systematically kept outside the learning framework of this society" i.e. the Sunnah of the Apostles. When the persecution of the Muslims in Makkah became almost unbearable, the Apostle of Allah instructed those who could, to emigrate to Habasha (Ethopia). Later after the pledge of the Ansar (Helpers) of Madina to the Apostle of Allah (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him), he instructed the Muslims to emigrate to Madina, this was the famous Hijra. Islam took its dating from the Hijra of the Apostle (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) from Makkah to Madina. Shaikh Uthman Ibn Fudi (may Allah have mercy on him) followed the Sunnah of the Apostle he made the Hijra from Degel to Gudu, because of Yunfa's persecution of his community, they migrated from Degel to Gudu on the 10th Dhilqa'da 1218 (Tuesday 21 February 1804). The Shaikh was elected the leader of the *Jama'a* (community), a demacation was thus established. Genuine muslims all over the west central Sudan prepared for the Jihad. (M. Last: *The Sokoto Caliphate* pp. 23-24, Al-Hafiz Ibn Abdul-Bar: *al-Durar:* pp 75-87, As-Shaikh Muhammad Kudary: *Nur al-Yaqin,* Beirut pp.83-4 and Shaikh Abdulqadir as-Sufi *Quranic Tawhid* pp. 84-5 (for the quotation).

3. Station. This "is arrived at when the slave is established in a degree of adab in his service to Allah and when he was acquired a firm place in certainty inwardly". This is perhaps the name of a book written by Shaikh Jafar. (Shaikh Abdul-Qadir op. cited pp. 75-6 for the quotation).

4. Abubakar Atiku claimed that the Shaikh had informed him of one hundred and fifteen secrets; the manuscript which contains the surviving secrets has been described as "curious" and perhaps a forgery, (Last: op. cited p.81).

5. For Shaikh's message to his Muslim brothers in the West Central Sudan, see Translation of *Wathiqat Ahl al-Sudan* by A.H. Bivar, JAH 11, 2 pp.239-241 and M. Last: *The Sokoto Caliphate* p.46

6. Modibo Adam after whom the emirate of Adamawa was named, He was born in 1771, he was one of the pupils of the Shaikh (May Allah have mercy on him), who appointed him the Lamido of Fombina, in 1806 and he died in 1848. He was a dedicated scholar and a Mujahid (May Allah have mercy on him) (S.J. Hogben *An introduction to the History of Islamic States of Northern Nigeria* pp.229-38)

7. Not all the clans that answered the call were represented by their leaders, some of them were represented by the leaders of other clans. For example the Modibawa were represented by *'Alim* Danzabuwa of the Danejawa clan, and *'Alim* Bakatsine represented all the clans of the East i.e. the Jobawa which was his own clan, the Yeligawa, the Jallubawa and others.

8. The letter was given to him and he also chaired the meeting, he was the leader of the Kano *Jama'a* but he was martyred in the course of the Jihad. He has been confused with *'Alim* Danzabuwa by most historians.

9. Baa, Ba, Baal, Mba, Baalde these are some of the variants of the name of the Bah/Ba'awa clan. The Ba'awa or Bah call themselves the Bahhaabe or Ba'en (singular Bahbaaaho or Ba'aaja). The Ba'awa clan is made up of several tribes such as the Ururbe and the Wuururbe. They and other fulfulde speaking tribes who migrated from Futa Toro were collectively called Torobbe which was the name given to the Muslims, and the pagans were refered to as Toorobbe without any distinction. The leaders of Ba'en that migrated from Futa Toro lived at Kwani for a short time thenthey moved to Gobir, from there to Kano. After a while they moved to Yola, Modibo Adama was a member of this clan. It was because of their stay at Yola that they got their name - Yolawa. A group of thirty-five returned to Kano and settled at Yolawa Quarters (named after them). The Yolawa were very influential in nineteenth century Emirate councils. They became the most influential clan in the twentieth century the following traditional title holders are Yolawa; Madaki Alhaji Umaru Mahmud Yola; teacher and Historian, also one of the most respected Traditional leaders. Magajin Rafi Alhaji Mansur Yola and the Sarkin Shanu Alhaji Sarki Sani Yola. (Mohammadou Mal. Idrissou: *"Kalfu" or the Fulbe Emirate of Bagirmi and the Toorobbe of Sokoto:* (The Sokoto Seminar papers ed. by Y.B. Usman pp.353, and 349 for the first paragraph) and inter view with Mallam Musa Hussain and S.J. Hogben op. cited p.229, for the second paragraph).

10. The Jobawa lived in the East of Kano their main base was Utei a village in Wudil L.G.A. Like most other Fulfulde speakers they migrated from the West to East some members of this clan settled at Katsina and others moved to Kano. Members of this clan have been associated with the title of Makama. The present Makama of Kano is Alhaji Ibrahim Cigari (S.J. Hogben op. cited p.106 and Adamu Fika: *Kano civil war and the British over Rule* 1882 - 1940 pp. 16 & 19 W.F. Gowers Gazatter of Kano Province London 1922 (p.11).

11. One of the largest Fulfulde speaking clans in the Sokoto Caliphate. They belong to the Wangarawa stock and spoke Wa-kore before they became absorbed into the Fulani race which made them to adopt Fulfulde as their language. They also have mandigo element in their ancestry. Two Lineages of the Sullubawa became apparent in the nineteenth century Kano, the family of *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo Ibn Mahmud were the elite because of the Charisma of their leader. All the *Amirs* of Kano (including the present) were descendants of Ibrahim Dabo except *Amir* Sulaiman Ibn Aba Hamma. The family of Jammo who was the first head of the Sullubawa in Kano remained members of the Emirate Councils and became known as the Sullubawan Tuta. Most of the Sarkin Dawaki Mai Tutas were Sullubawan Tuta. The present Sarkin Dawaki Mai Tuta is

Alhaji Aminu B. Dan Agundi. (W.F. Gowers; *The Gazetter of Kano Province* p.10, H.A.S. Johnston *Fulani Empire of Sokoto* p.65 Mohammadou Mal. Idrissou op. cited p.348 and Adamu Fika op. cited p.16).

12. Members of this clan moved from Dambam (near Misau) into the Kano territory until they arrived at Dambazau which was named after them. They occupied parts of Northern Kano, during the Jihad campaigns they liberated these areas. Members of this clan have been associated with the Administration of Dambatta district, parts of Ungogo and Rimin Gado. They have been the traditional titleholders of Sarkin Bai and Dokaji since the reversion to Habe titles. The present Sarkin Bai is Alhaji Mukhtar Adnan, one of the most respected Traditional leaders in Northern Nigeria. (W.F. Gowers op. cited p.11, H.A.S. Johnson op. cited p.65 Dambatta District Note Book, from John Chamberlin's Notes and interview with Mallam Musa Hussaini Madabo).

13. This was the second most influential fulfulde speaking clan (after the Sullubawa) in the nineteenth century. They had two representatives in the Emirate council. Members of this clan are light in complexion, they have since inhabited some parts of Kano South West before the Reign of Muhammad Rumfa. Sarki Kutumbi once collected 50 cattle from them as Jangali. The Danejawa lost their membership of the Kano Emirate Council when they refused to side with Yusuf during the Kano civil war, since 1894 to date no member of this clan has held any important traditional title. A prominent member of this clan is Alh. Bala Daneji a successful Businessman and member of the Kano State foundaton. (W.F. Gowers op. cited p.11, H.R. Palmer: *Sudanese Memoirs: the Kano Chronicle* p.119 interview with Mallam Daud Ibn Aliyu Babba 7th/6/87 and Mallam Hussaini Musa).

14. Many Hausa people supported the Jihad because it was Islamic and not racial. According to W.F. Gowers "it was not in any sense a conquest of the Hausa race by the Fulani, indeed the Hausa adherents of Uthman were probably as numerous as his Fulani followers". *'Alim* Uthman Bahaushe was the leader of all the Hausas that supported the Jihad in Kano. They were represented in the Emirate Council and have been associated with the title of Magajin Mallam, not as suggested by H.I. Said who wrote that they lost their sit with the appointment of *'Alim* Salihu Ibn Muhammad as the Chief Qadi, because *'Alim* Yusuf Hausawi was appointed as the Head of the Hausas and member of the Emirate council. They actually lost their sit in 1894 when they refused to support Yusuf. (W.F. Gowers p.10, H.I. Said Ph.D. Dissertation University of Michigan 1978 p.192 and interview with Alkali Yusuf Muhammad Bello).

15. Kwazazabon Yar Kwandu 30 miles (48 kilometres) West of Kano City. (H.A.S. Johnston op. cited p.66).

16. Fifth month of the Islamic Lunar Calendar.

17. A village in Kura Local Government, it was the main base of the Sullubawa, Amir Ibrahim Dabo was referred to as Dabon Kanwa.

18. A village in Dawakin Tofa District, the main Base of the Yolawa clan (Ba'awa), see map 1.

19. A very Historic and politically important Town in Kiru District, Bebeji Local Government Area see Map 1.

20. Headquarters of Takai Local Government. It was the Headquarters of Yusuf from where he directed his sympathisers against *Amir* Tukur Ibn Muhammad Bello (interview Mallam Daud Ibn Aliyu Babba).

21. According to Abdullahi Mahdi Bimma was the Head of Bebeji. This is contrary to what is contained in the manuscripts available to me. (Abdullahi Mahdi: Ph.D. Thesis ABU 1982 p.35 (see 22 below).

22. Gowers has reported that *'Alim* Bakatsine claimed to be innocent of the Jihad when Alwali called on him, if this was true then *'Alim* Bakatsine applied the principle of prudent consciousness, which is permissable in the Sharia. It is therefore inappropriate for Abdullahi Mahdi to imply that *'Alim* Bakatsine played double stand. There is no evidence that 'Alim Bakatsine fought on Alwali's side against the *Jama'a* but this book has given evidences that *'Alim* Bakatsine was with the *Jama'a* throughout the Jihad. His Hijra in the East was only for strategic reasons, as we shall see later in this book. (W.F. Gowers op.cited p.11 and Abdullahi Madhi: *The State and the Economy: The Sarauta System and its Roles in shaping the society and Economy of Kano with particular reference to the 18th and 19th Ph.D Thesis ABU 1982 p.344-5 and also comments 44, 72 and 74 of this chapter).*

23. *Barde was the title of Army commander/General during the Habe era*

24. This was the best offer that could be made to Alwali, it is a prove that the Jama'a were not ambitious. The palace slaves and the scholars (of the palace) convinced Alwali not accept the *Jama'a* because of their egocentrism, (interview with mai unguwar Kutumbawa Abubakar in Kano conducted on 21/8/87, see also H.A.S. Johnston: *The Fulani Empire of Sokoto* London 1967 p.66)

25. This was a deviation, this was how the scholars decieved Alwali and other ignorant men.

26. The Battle of the glory of Islam, in which the *Mujahidun* were victorious.

27. It was perhaps after this encounter that Dan Tunku participated in the Jihad Campaigns at Daura and Katsina. (H.A.S. Johnson op. cited p.66).

28. See 26 above.

29. Headquarters of Kabo Local Government Area see map 1.

30. A village in Gwarzo Local Government Area.

31. A town in Kiru District, Bebeji Local Government Area, see map 1.

32. Headquarters of Kura Local Government Area, see map 1.

33. Headquarters of Karaye Local Government Area, see map 1.

34. Kafir Historians have conceptualised the Jihad as Fulani affair. Thus making most of their works, to be riddled with errors. The literate hooligans produced by the conveyor belt universities have been polarised into two camps on the issue of the Jihad, the conservatives who are adherents of the established suppositional framework of the *Kuffar* and the radicals who have been fed with the vocabulary for social change but without access to social reality.

35. Nineth month of Islamic lunar calendar. The Ramadan, the month of the obligatory fast.
36. Tenth month of the Islamic Lunar calendar.
37. See Al-Nafrawy: *Fqwakh Dawany*. Daral-Ma'arifah Beirut vol. 1 pp.469-470.
38. A Fulani from Mali who studied under Shaikh Uthman Ibn Fodio. He became the Amir of Zazzau in 1808 after the defeat of the Tyrant Makau by the Mujahidun. All the Malawa Emirs of Zaria were descendants of Mallam Musa. He died in 1821. Alhaji Nuhu Bamali a former Federal Minister and the Magajin Gari of Zazzau is a descendant of Mallam Musa (H.A.S. Johnson op. cited p.70, S.J. Hogben: *Islamic States of Northern Nigeria* pp.119, 120 and 127).
39. The Sarki of Zazzau, who recognised the authority of the *Amir al-Mu'minin* Shaikh Uthman Ibn Fodio sometime in 1805. He ruled Zaria from 1786 to 1806 the year he died. (S.J. Hogben op. cited p.127).
40. It was a Sunnah (Practice) of our beloved Apostle (blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) to wear the turban.
41. Narrating as if he was present at that place.
42. A village in Sumaila Local Government Area.
43. A village in Bebeji Local Government Area.
44. An indication that Alim Bakatsine had already made the hijra and this was before the battle of Dan-Yaya the most important of all the battles it also proves that Alim Bakatsine did not join the *Jama'a* because they were victorious as some people want us to believe. He was in fact with the *Jama'a* at the most crucial period. It also proves that his Hijra at Wudil was for strategic reasons.
45. They were in full control of their horses.
46. A tributary of the River Challawa.
47. A village in Dawakin Tofa Local Government Area, see map 1.
48. A village in Bichi Local Government Area, see map 1.
49. Headquarters of the Bichi Government Area, see map 1.
50. A village in Dawakin Tofa Local Government Area, see map 1.
51. A Taureg who assisted Hausa Tyrants.
52. In Dambatta Local Government Area.
53. A village Dawakin Tofa Local Government Area, see map 1.
54. Dawakin Tofa Town.
55. Who resisted.
56. Allah is greatest, whenever it is chanted the Kuffar become frightened.
57. Tyrant of Daura at this time was Sarkin Gwari Abdu who was driven out of Daura by the *Mujahidun* with Allah's help in 1805 (S.J.Hogoben op.cited p.79)
58. He had already liberated the Town of Gaya which was one of the most strategic towns in the region. It is presently the Headquarters of Gaya Local Government Area.
59. Running away from the enemies at a Jihad Front is a grevious sin if the Muslims are 12,000 in number no matter the size of the enemies or if they (muslims) are less than 12,000 but the enemies are just twice their size or less. It is permissable for the Muslims to run away if they are less than 12,000 and the enemies are more than twice their size (al-Nafrawy: *al-Fawakh al-Dawany* Vol. 1 p.465 *Dar-al Ma'arifah* Beirut).
60. About forty kilometres North of Kano city. This was the major Battle of the jihad. The Tyrant's army outnumbered the Mujahidun but with Allah's help they were defeated. (H.A.S. Johnston op. cited p.67).
61. He could have been killed at that moment but the *Jama'a* were lenient.
62. Surat Najim (Chapter 53) Ayat 18.
63. Chiroma Muhammad Dan Mama, he was later appointed Mai Unguwar Kutumbawa by *Amir* Sulaiman when he complained to Shaikh Uthman that he needed a responsibility. He was a member of the Emirate Council, the titleholder of Mai unguwar Kutumbawa remained an important member of the Emirate until the overthrow of the Emirate and the establishment of the indirect rule. (Interview with Mai-Unguwar Kutumbawa, Rimin Kira Quarters Kano city 21/8/87).
64. Literal translation of the word is fear but it does not convey the actual meaning.
65. Headquarters of Bagwai Local Government Area.
66. A village in Bagwai Local Government Area, see map 1.
67. A village in Gwarzo Local Government Area, see map 1.
68. A village South East of Musawa, Katsina State.
69. Appointed *Amir* of Katsina after its liberation in 1816, by the *Amir al-Mu'minin*, A scholar and *Mujahid* who continued to struggle against Habe Tyrants resident at Maradi. He died in 1835 may Allah have mercy on Him. (S.J. Hogben op. cited pp. 87-89 and 96 Y.B. Uthman. The *Transformation of Katsina* Ph. D. Thesis ABU 1975 p.XXIV).
70. Appointed the *Amir* of Daura after its liberation in July 1805. He continued the Jihad against the Habe Tyrants of Daura-Zango and Daura Baure until his death.
71. Some historians use this to imply that the *Jama'a* were ambitious but even Johnston has written that "when Shehu's concillatory letter written after his victory at Tabkin Kwato was first brought to Alwali he was apparently on the point of accepting but something caused him to change his mind. Whatever the reason, Alwali rejected Shehu's overtures and the war therefore spread to Kano". Alwali therefore had his chance but he was decieved by his councillors this was confirmed by the Mai-Unguwar Kutumbawa Abubakar (H.A.S. Johnston o. cited p.66 and interview with Mai-Unguwar Kutumbawa Abubakar).
72. Both Western and Eastern branches of the Jama'a entered Kano at same time they have already merged at Tomas.
73. To the *Jama'a* of the West later after consultations it was realised that it would be more strategic for him to make the Hijra in the East. (Discussions with Alkali Yusuf Muhammad Bello.)

74. An indication that Alim Bakatsine had always been with the *Jama'a* although he was far away, he was in-fact at the first meeting that was chaired by *'Alim* Dangabuwa.

75. Headquarters of Wudil Local Government and the main base of the Jobawa clan, see map 2.

76. The Jallube are fulfulde speaking Torobbe clan who originated from Futa Toro. They migrated from Mali under the leadership of Muhammad Madly and they arrived at Bagirmi. He married the daughter of the Torobbe Chief who gave birth to his son Salihu Gaga who migrated from Bagirmi after the massacre of their families by the Kunku he was in the group of the descendants of Ardo Tiiri. Salihu Gaga remained in Kano Territory he settled in Tsangaya while others moved to Gobir, because of their Bagirmi influence they are referred to as Fulata Borno by those who do not know their actual history, since most of the Fulani clans that migrated from Borno to Kano are referred to as Fulata Borno whatever their clan, such as the Yaligawa Modibawa, Dambazawa and Zarawa. Researchers might prove in future that these clans actually migrated from Futa Toro prior to their settlement in Borno, as has been demonstrated in the case of Jallube. The Jallubawa branch of Musa Dan Amada alternated the district headship of Dutse with the Yeligawa branch of Salihu Dan Lawan. (Mohammadou Mal. Idrissou op. cited pp.339-363, interview with Mallam Musa Madabo and Alhaji Abdullahi Maikano: *Tarihin Dutse* 1976 pp.2 and 3 and I Ado: *History and Geneology of the Gyanawa* pp.1-4).

77. Qadi Salihu he was known as Dattuwa. A Murid of Shaikh Uthman Ibn Fūdi "he was among those the Shaikh brought up in the Tariqa to reach the highest levels" according to Waziri Gidado in Raud Al-Jinan. Dattuwa was later appointed Chief Qadi (U.F. Malumfashi's Translation of *Raud al-Jinan* M.A. Thesis ABC/ABU 1973 page 45 paragraph 73, and Discussions with Alkali Yusuf Muhammad Bello conducted in May 1987)

78. The Gyanawa are the descendants of Muhammad Madly the first leader of the Jallubawa clan. Gyanawy is therefore a lineage of the Jallube. The Gyanawa have a tradition of Islamic scholarship. (I. Ado op. cited p.1-4 and John Paden op. cited pp. 57 and 274).

79. The Yaligawa are Fulata Borno, they are perhaps the same with the Igilawa the original name of the Modibawa. Acording to S.J. Hogben and Kirk-Greene "The Modibawa (from Modibo or Mallam) Chiefly in the city itself. Originally known as Igilawa, they came from Bornu under their leader Mallam Atiku whose wisdom earned him the name of Modibo" (S.J. Hogben and A.M.H. Kirk-Greene: *Emirates of Northern* p.197, Alhaji A. Maikano: *Tarihin Dutse* op. cited p.2).

80. According to Dutse oral Tradition which contradicts Muhammad Ibn Salih's account Gojabo handed over to Salihu peacefully, Salihu Ibn Lawal was appointed Sarkin Dutse (a territorial chief) after its liberation some time in 1805. He died in 1817 and was succeeded by his friend Musa Dan Amada, their families have been alternating the District headship (Alh. A. Maikano op. cited p.2).

81. Gwajabo dan Natata, Sarkin Dutse from 1799 to 1805. He was one of Alwali's auxillaries, the Sarkin Dutse was one of the territorial chiefs of Kano ranking second in precedence to Sarkin Rano who was independent of Kano before the Jihad. Gwajabo moved to Unguwar Jigawar Sarki after the liberation of Dutse by the-*Jama'a* (Alh. A. Maikano op. cited. p.2).

82. At this time the situation of the western branch of the *Jama'a* was pitiful, just before the liberation of Dan Yaya.

83. Headquarters of Aujara District, Jahun Local Government Area, see map 2.

84. A Town in Ringim Local Government Area, see map 2.

85. Headquarters of Kiyawa Local Government Area, see map 2.

86. Headquarters of Rano Local Government, a historic town. The Sarkin Rano was the most influential territorial Chief in Kano, see map 2.

87. This dynasty was founded by Alwali Kutumbi. He was the Sarki of Kano from 1032-1058 A.H. (1623-1648). According to Adamu Fika "Kutumbi was a great innovator in the post Rumfa era". (Adamu Fika: *Kano Civil War and the British over-rule 1882-1942* p.11, H.R. Palmer *Sudanese Memoirs Kano Chronicle pp.118-119).*

88. *Muhammad Ibn Salih was doubting the authenticity of the Kano Chronicle that was available in his time. (M.G. Smith: The Kano chronicle as History"* in the studies in the History of Kano Edited by Barkindo 1983 p.33).

89. The great Islamic Scholar who fought against the enemies of Allah the Jewish community of the Sahara. Shaikh Maghili contributed to the eradication of Bida' (unlawful innovations) and to the revival of the Sunnah (practice of the Apostle of Allah). He made Sarki Rumfa to cut down the Fetishtic tree, a Friday Mosque with Minaret was built on the site. He also appointed a Judge to administer Justice. According to Dr. Hassan Gwarzo "Another Major contribution made by al-Maghili in Kano was the provision of a constitution for the institution of Imara which he found in existence. This was embodied in the treatise which he wrote at the request of the reigning ruler, Muhammad Rumfa. This treatise was in fact the constitution of Kano which made its Government a theocracy". Shaikh Al-Maghili contributed to the establishment of Islamic reform tradition in the Sudan he condemned the abuse of the Sharia and Venal Mallams. (H.R. Palmer op. cited pp.111-2, Hassan Gwarzo *"The life and Teachings of Al-Maghili with particular Reference to the Saharan Jewish Community"* Ph.D. Thesis SOAS University of London 1972, and M. Hiskett: *"An Islamic Tradition of Reform in the Western Sudan from the 16th to the 18th century"* BSOAS XXV 1962).

90. He was left behind by Shaikh Maghili to continue guiding the Kano community (H.R. Palmer op. cited p.111).

91. The Sheriffs are the nobles, descendants of the Apostle of Allah (may His peace and blessings be upon him).

92. Islam has been in Kano before Muhammad Rumfa but he made it the official life - Transaction.

93. He was the Sarki of Kano from 1070-1081 A.H. (1660-1670). (H.R. Palmer op. cited p.121).

94. Shaikh Abdullahi Thuqa, a Ba'awi Fulani who studied in Agadas and Fezzan. He was a famous teacher and saint he built the mosque of Zawachiki. "He was the city of learning, he was the greatest Mallam of his time, many learned Hausas were among his pupils" E.J. Arnelt: *Rise of the Sokoto Fulani* Kano 1922 p.19 cited by M. Hiskett BSOAS XIX 1957 p.572

CHAPTER THREE

AMIR SULAIMAN IBN ABA HAMA

He was the first *Amir* of Kano(1) after the fall of the Kafir dynasty. When the reign of the *Kuffar* came to an end Shaikh Muhammad Bello(2) appointed Sulaiman as the *Amir* with the letter of the Shaikh when he met the *Jama'a* of Kano at Birnin Gada. They were given a choice,(3) they chose Sulaiman and returned to their region in peace. The *Jama'a* experienced this Ayat of the Allah: "say" O Allah! Lord of Power (and Rule) Thou givest Power to whom Thou pleasest, And thou strippest off Power from whom thou pleasest: Thou enduest with honour whom thou pleasest and thou bringest low whom Thou pleasest: In Thy hand is all good. Verily over all things Thou hast power"(4).

And they have seen (experienced) how Allah has brought low their enemies and has siezed power from them and has made the *Jama'a* inheritors of their land and homes. Until we inherited Islam and power from them as contained in this Ayat of Allah: "Then we have given the Book for inheritance to such of our servants as we have chosen: But there are among them some who wrong their own souls: Some who follow a middle course: and some who are by God's leave, foremost in good deeds that is the highest Grade"(5). Ibn Abbas(6) has said all these three categories are in the Umma of Muhammad (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) and all of them shall be in paradise the foremost in gooddeeds shall be the first, the follower of middle course shall be successful and the sinner shall be forgiven"(7). Oh Allah bless us with the love of the one whom You have blessed this *Ummah* with (the Apostle Muhammad (may Your peace and blessings be upon him). All Praise be to Allah (who has made this possible.

Among his Chiefs (his council)(8) were *'Alim* Jammo and when he died he appointed Ibrahim Dabo Ibn Mahmud(9), *'Alim* Abdurrahman(10) and when he died he appointed Umar (the son of his brother 'Alim Jibril) *'Alim* Bakatsine(11) *'Alim* Dabo Dambazau(12). *'Alim* Gwani Hafiz(13) who committed the Quran to memory, 'Alim Qadi Uthman Bahaushe(14) when he died he appointed Salihu Ibn Muhammad as Qadi(15) while *'Alim* Yusuf Al-Hausawi was appointed as the head of his *Jama'a*(16) (Hausawa) and Muhammad Thani Ibn *'Alim* Danzabuwa(17). His viziers(18) were his brothers Dadlu and Sani. His writer of letters (scribe) was Abubakar popularly known as Baban Kawo(19). Among his servants were Wambai(20) Jubo, Mainasara and Sarkin Bai (21). His period was peaceful and silent the last battle of Alwali took place on Alwali's return from Zaria. Amir Sulaiman appointed *'Alim* Bakatsine(22) to command the *Jama'a* and Alwali was met at Burum Burum, and was killed inside the city and they returned in peace with booty.

SHAIKH ABDULLAHI IBN FODIO

Shaikh Abdullahi Ibn Fodio(23) (may Allah have mercy on him) visited Kano(24) during the period of *Amir* Sulaiman in the year of the sun eclipse, he led the eclipse prayer on Friday in the middle of Ramadan(25). Shaikh Abdullahi Ibn Fodio established the position of the *qiblah* (direction of the Ka'aba) for the Kano Mosque, thus this was similar to the city of Misr (Cairo-Egypt) when Imam Shafi (may Allah have mercy on him) visited them and established the position of the qibla for the al-Azhar Mosque. And we have investigated(26) by Allah's will that there shall be a fitna(27) of Bani Isreal which shall reach Egypt, we pray to Allah to protect our country from this fitna just as we have had similarity(28) with Egypt in good action. And they got the blessings of Shaikh Abdullahi when they heard from him the Tafsir (commentary of the Quran)(29). He also wrote a book for the *Jama'a* of Kano known as *Diya-al-Hukam*(30) when they asked him to guide them on the procedures of establishing Islamic Governance.

FAGAM EXPEDITION, THE BEGINNING OF DANTUNKU'S FITNA AND THE DEATH OF SULAIMAN

Then he went out for the Fagam expedition he confronted them (pagans) for three nights consecutively. Their Chief was shot with an arrow and the inhabitants of town escaped, the *Jama'a* burnt the town and took the rest of the properties as booty. They pursued prisoners to the borders of the country because he was an independent Governor and they returned in peace with booty and prestige of Islam. There were few uprisings during his period, only the rout of the army of Tumbi, it was one of the major troubles of his period as a result of which he established ribats(31) at the borders until peace prevailed. The rebellion of Dantunku was in its infant stage, Dantunku had assembled battalions of soldiers from eastern and western regions but he feared and became silent. Amir Sulaiman b. Aba Hama governed Kano for thirteen years. He died on Sunday night (end of Shawwal)(32) may Allah have mercy on him and all of us.

COMMENTARY

1. Sulaiman became the Amir in 1221 AH (1806 AD). After the establishment of Islamic Governance Amir Sulaiman lived in 'Gidan Makama' he then moved into the 'Gidan Rumfa' with the permission of the Shaikh although he was earlier opposed by the Jihad leaders. There was also a misunderstanding between him and *'Alim* Yunusa (Dabon Dambazau) as reported by the Kano chronicle and Dambazau oral tradition. Sulaiman was very learned and pious, he was accessible and never tolerated pre-Islamic practices that will hinder the shari'a. The Cucunawa were not popular in his time, he never tolerated a large number of parasitic Palace slaves. Many people believed that Sulaiman was a saint he never wanted any of his children

or relatives to succeed him, he therefore recommended Ibrahim Dabo Ibn Mahmud to Shaikh Muhammad Bello. (H.R. Palmer *Sudanese Memoirs* pp.12780, M. Last: JHSN Vol. III 319668) p.468, Hogben and Kirk-Greene *Emirates of Northern Nigeria p.198).*

2. Born in 1781. His main teacher was his father. He became a scholar before the establishment of the Caliphate, he specialised in different aspects of Islamic political thought. His knowledge and intelligence were acknowledged by his contemporaries including Europeans such as Clapperton. He wrote over 100 books on different subjects. He had administrative experience, he was the second to pledge allegience to the *Amir al-Mu'minin* Shaikh Uthman Ibn Fūdi, the first was Shaikh Abdullahi Ibn Fūdi, they were the Wazirs (viziers) of the *Amir al-Mu'minin.* Shaikh Muhammad Bello led several military expeditions and campaigns and also settled disputes. When Shaikh Uthman Ibn Fūdi died on 3rd Jumada al-Akhir 1232 (20th April 1817) (May Allah have mercy on him) Shaikh Muhammad Bello was elected as the new *Amir al-Mu'minin* this was in Shaikh Abdullahi's absence. He later acknowledged the authority of Shaikh Muhammad Bello when he dismounted from his horse to greet him at Kalembaina after the defeat of the rebels. He also handed over his cloth and turban to Gidado dan Laima the new Wazir appointed by Shaikh Muhammad Bello, thereby relinguishing his position of Waziri-al-akbar (the senior vizier). Khalifa Muhammad Bello established an efficient administration which was the highest achievement by any pre-colonial leader in building a civilised society in Africa South of the Sahara. This was acknowledged by Marquess of Dufferin a spokesman of the colonial office in the house of Lords, in 1937. He established more ribats inorder to defend the Caliphate against its enemies. In 1817 Abdul-Salam revolted using tribal sentiments as a pretext to achieving his selfish ends, he was unsuccessful like other enemies of the Sokoto Caliphate. Most of the rebels and enemies of the Caliphate were defeated before the death of Caliph Muhammad Bello on the 25th Rajab 1253 (October 1837). He was refered to as the Sultan of Sokoto by the North Africans subsequent Caliph's were called Sultans by the Europeans and Arabs. Shaikh Muhammad Bello was succeeded by his younger borther Abubakar Atiku (Mai Katuru) (M. Last: *The Sokoto Caliphate,* Ismail Balogun: Uthman Dan Fodio, S.J. Hogben *Islamic States of Northern Nigeria* and West African Magazine June 15, 1987. p.1162 for the statement of the marques of Dufferin).

3. Shaikh Muhammad Bello represented the Shaikh at this meeting in which he read the letter of the Shaikh. Earlier on two of the senior Jihad leaders *('Alim* Jammo and *'Alim* Goshi) were offered the Emirship but they declined. It was all those who were present at this meeting that collectively elected Sulaiman as the Amir. This was in the dry-season of 1805-6 (D.M. Last: The *Sokoto Caliphate* and JHSN Vol. III 3 1966 p.464).

4. Quran chapter 3 verse 26, commentary: Oh Muhammad supplicate to your lord, the Almighty as follows: "Oh Allah 'Lord of Power' all power belongs to you, you give it and take it as you wish, and whatever you wish happens and any thing contrary never happens". In this verse there is an explanation of the honour that Allah bestowed upon his beloved Apostle (May His peace and blessings be upon him) and his community (the muslims of the world), because Allah the Almighty took away prophethood from Bani-Israel, and bestowed it upon Muhammad an unlettered Quraish from the city of Makkah. He made him the seal of all Prophets, an Apostle to all men and Jinns, He gave him all the special qualities of those before him and also gave him what He did not give them. This is why Allah has said "say Oh Allah Lord of Power" which means that: You (Allah) can change things the way You like and can do whatever You wish, this is the interpretation of Ibn Kathir. Imam Jalaludeen As suyuti in 'Asbabul Nuzul' wrote on the reasons for the revelation of this Ayat: "Abi Hatim has transmitted that Qatada has said "we were told that the Apostle of Allah prayed to Allah to grant the muslims authority over Rome and Persia then Allah revealed this Ayat". According to Imam Alusy: Al-Wahady has reported from Ibn Abbas and Anas Ibn Malik (May Allah be pleased with them) that "when the Apostle of Allah liberated Makkah he promised his companions the liberation of the Persian and Roman Empires. The hypocrites and the Jews started saying "what a conjecture, who is Muhammad, how can he have authority over Rome and Persia". They were very displeased and they said "Are Makkah and Madina not enough for him; then Allah revealed this Ayat. "According to Mujahid, "Al-Mulk (Power) in this Ayat means Prophethood, some say it means wealth and slaves, while another opinion is that it means this world and the hereafter. Allah bestows honour in this world and the hereafter to the muslims through victory in this world and success in the hereafter by gaining paradise and seeing Allah. He stripes off power from the Jews and hypocrites by disgracing them in this world and the hereafter. Their rewards are jiziya in this world and hell fire in the hereafter. This Ayat could also mean any form of honour or disgrace, it was therefore applicable to the honour Allah bestowed upon Sulaiman and the disgrace to his predecessor. Since the predicate is before the subject in this Ayat it denotes that only Allah has authority over all forms of good. (For more information see Al-Hafiz Ibn Kathir: *Tafsir al-Quran* Vol. 1 pp.354, Imam Jalaludeen As-suyuti: *Asbab al-Nuzul,* p.54, Imam Al-Said Mahmud Al-Alusy: *Tafsir al-Ruh-al-Ma'ani* Vol.3 pp.112-115)

5. Quran Chapter 35 verse 32: Commentary: The Ayat could be translated in singular or plural form. Those that wrong their souls are those that Miss (leave out) some of what is enjoined and atimes commit forbidden acts. Those that follow the middle course; are those that fulfil what is enjoined and leave the forbidden but they may atimes leave the recommended and engage in some discouraged acts. The foremost in good deeds are those that engage in the enjoined and recommended acts, leave the forbidden and the discouraged acts and they may atimes leave what is allowed. These facts are contained in Tafsir Ibn Kathir. (Shaikh Muhammad Ali As-Sabuni: *Muktasar Tafsir Ibn Kathir* 1402/1881 vol.3 p.147.

6. Abdullahi Ibn Abbas (May Allah be pleased with them) was born 3 years before hijra. The Apostle of Allah (May His peace and blessings be upon him) prayed to his Lord to give Ibn Abbas the understanding of the life transaction as well as the knowledge of interpretation of the Holy Quran. Abdullahi Ibn Umar has said "Ibn Abbas is the most knowledgeable of the Ummah of Muhammad on what was revealed to Muham-

mad." (Peace and blessings of Allah be upon him)". There was a day when Khalifa Umar Ibn Khattab (may Allah be pleased with him) called Ibn Abbass and other senior companions and asked them the interpretation of this Ayat "When Comes the help of Allah and victory". No one was able to give a satisfactory answer except Ibn Abbas who said "it is an indication of the departure of the Apostle of Allah from this world a notice to the Apostle". Abdullahi b. Abbas narrated 1660 hadiths from the Apostle of Allah, he learnt most of them from the senior companions. Muhsin Uthman Abud: *Al-Mahdhab Fi Mustalah al-Hadith* BK2 1978 (1398) pp.42-43 and Shaikh Ahmad Shakir: *Al-Baithal Hathi'ith Sharh Ikhtisar ulumual Hadith Li Hafiz Ibn Kattir.* 1979 (1399) p.157).

7. This Hadith has been transmitted from Ibn Abbass in different ways and content, we shall examine what is contained in Tafsir Ibn Kathir. "Tabrani has transmitted from Ibn Abbass that the Apostle of Allah has said "I shall intercede for my followers that have committed grevious sins". Ibn Abbass has said the foremost in good deeds shall enter paradise without any account on the day of judgement, the follower of the middle course shall enter paradise due to Allah's mercy. Those that wrong their souls and those on the heights shall enter paradise because of the intercession of the Apostle of Allah (may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him). Some of the earlier scholars were of the opinion that those who wrong their souls are not in the community of Muhammad. The sound opinion is that they are all found in the community of Muhammad as stated in the verse as well as many other hadiths that have been transmitted. (Shaikh Sabuni op. cited p.147).

8. The Emirate Council, they were heads of their various clans that participated in the Jihad. Direct translation of the phrase will be 'his heads'. They were all Ulama, the main distinction between this and subsequent Emirate councils.

9. According to Hogben and Kirk-Greene *'Alim* Jammo Head of the Sullubawa clan was the Chief Counsellor of *Amir* Sulaiman and when he died Ibrahim Dabo inherited his position. Perhaps Muhammad Ibn Salih first mentioned Alim Jammo because of his influence. (Hogben and Kirk-Greene *Emirates of Northern Nigeria* p.198).

10. *'Alim* Abdurrahman Head of the Yolawa clan, was the elder brother of the Famous Saint *'Alim* Jibril, it appears from this account that *'Alim* Jibril died before his brother, because his son succeeded *'Alim* Abdurrahman.

11. *'Alim Bakatsine head of the Jobawa clan representing his clan and other eastern clans.*

12. *'Alim* Yunusa Dabon Dambazau head of Dambazawa clan representing his clan.

13. *'Alim* Gwani Hafiz, Shaheed (the martyr) a scholar of repute an authority on Quranic studies. He was either representing a clan that was not mentioned or he was a member because of his personal merit.

14. *'Alim* Uthman head of the Hausawa that participated in the Jihad.

15. The first member of the Gyanawa to be appointed Chief Qadi he was a murid of Shaikh Uthman Ibn Fudi as explained in comment 78 ch.2 from the appointment of Salih Ibn Muhammad the Gyanawa clan began to dominate Kano Judiciary, throughout the nineteenth century only Qadi Uthman Bahaushe and Qadi Sulaiman Bajobe who was appointed after the assasination of Al-qadi Ahmadu Rufai were not Gyanawa. (Ibrahim Dasuki Ado: *History and Geneology of the Gyanawa* pp.7-14).

16 He succeeded *'Alim* Uthman Bahaushe as the Head of the Hausawa, this is contrary to H.I. Said's suggestions that the Hausawa lost their seat in the Emirate Council with the appointment of Salihu Ibn Muhammad as Chief Qadi. Since Ibn Salih Addressed his successor as *'Alim* it also contradicts the oral account that the man who succeeded *'Alim* Uthman Bahaushe was not a scholar hence the evolution of the title of Magajin Mallam. (H.I. Said Ph.D. Dissertation University of Michigan p.192).

17. Appointed to succeed his father as the head of the Danejawa clan and a member of the Emirate Council.

18. An evidence against the notion that there was no Wazir before the civil war. The title of the Wazir was one of the few titles approved by Shaikh Uthman, and he had rejected the title of the Galadima. In Kano bureaucracy the Wazir was atimes referred to as the Galadima but Amir Bello Ibn Ibrahim's Wazir was refered to as Sarkin Fada.

19. He was a secretary who wrote the letters for the Emir no information was gathered concerning his personality.

20. According to the Kano chronicle Sarki Muhammad Shashere (1573-82) was the first to confer the influential title of Wambai on a Eunuch, an indication that the title was in existence before him. *Amir* Sulaiman gave the title to a servant. Later the Sullubawa revived the title by confering it on a member of the royal family.

21 Muhammad Rumfa was the first to confer this title on a Eunuch in the time of *Amir* Sulaiman it was a title of slaves of servants. Later the Sullubawa made it a Dambazau title (see comment 13 ch. 6) (H.R. Palmer p.112 and Adamu Fika p.10).

22. This is contrary to the views of H.A.S. Johnston, John Paden, Adamu Fika and W.F. Gowers. They were all of the opinion that it was 'Alim Jammo who led the contigent that killed Alwali. Muhammad Ibn Saleh is nearer to the truth because he met those who took part in the battle he was in fact their student. Alwali was refused refuge by the people of Zaria he returned to Burum Burum and was killed there in 1807 his grave is there (H.R. Palmer p.127, Johnston: *Fulani Emir of Sokoto* p.67, A. Fika p.17 W.F. Gowers *Gazeeter of Kano Province* p.12 and John Paden p.241).

23. He was born in 1766 (1180 AH) at Magami, His teachers were his elder brother Shaikh Uthman Ibn Fudi, Muhammad Ibn Raji, Muhammad Buttuga Ibn Muhammad, Shaikh Jibril Ibn Umar and many others. He travelled widely with his elder brother on public lecture tours. Shaikh Abdullahi Fodio was a prolific writer, he wrote over 110 books and Pamphlets on all important subjects. The most important is *Diya al Ta'wil Fima'an al-Tanzil*, a commentary of the holy Quran. When Umar Al-Kammo died he became the

Wazir Al-Akhbar (Senior Vizier), he participated actively in the Jihad by leading several expeditions and campaigns. According to the late Mallam Aminu Kano "Shaikh Abdullahi was the epitome of Justice and Fair play which the rivivalist tradition aimed at establishing in the early nineteenth century". Shaikh Abdullahi had differences of opinion on some legal issues with Shaikh Uthman the views of the elder brother were in most cases more sound and authoritative than those of Shaikh Abdullahi. I do not agree with the suggestion of Mallam Shehu Umar Abdullahi that the issue of succession contributed to the suppression of the true picture of Shaikh Abdullahi. This is because Shaikh Abdullahi pledged allegience, to Amir al-Mu'minin Muhammad Bello at Kalambena. Shaikh Abdullahi died in 1828/9 A.D (1244 A.H). (Mallam Shehu Umar Abdullahi: *On the search for a viable political culture Reflection on the political thought of Shaikh Abdullahi Dan Fodio* pp.5, 58-85, Zahradeen, M.S. *Abdallah Ibn Fūdi's contribution to the Fulani Jihad in the 19th century Hausaland* (Ph.D. Thesis): 1976 MUC.).

24. This was on his way to Makkah to perform the Hajj after which he intended to move to Madinah. He left the Jihad ground because of the behaviour of some of the *Mujahidun* who joined the movement after its first success, most of these new comers were more concerned with worldly gains than the objectives of the Jihad unlike those who were martyred at Tsuntsuwa, he was discouraged by the behaviour of the Kano community it was not better than the one he had left behind. Shaikh Abdullahi realised that he was still needed by the community he therefore returned to Sokoto "with the power and wisdom of Allah and resumed the Military activities, that eventually led to the liberation of Alkalawa the seat of the government of the Sultan of Gobir Yunfa who was the principal contender of the rivivalist movement". (Mallam Shehu Umar Abdullahi op. cited p.62).
25. According to M. Last (citing T.R. Oppolzer) the eclipse was on 29th November 1807. (D.M. Last: JHSN VOL. III No.3 1966 p.465).
26. There is difference of opinion among the scholars concerning this kind of investigations, some are of the opinion that it is permissable while others do not believe in it.
27. Literarily means sedition.
28. Muhammad Ibn Salih's prediction has materialised some will regard it as a *Karamah (Miracle) while others will dismiss it as a guestwork, that has occured by mere coincidence.*
29. *Shaikh Abdullahi was the most learned authority on the commentary of the Quran that has ever lived in the West Central Sudan. He wrote the Diya al Ta'wil,* a commentary of the Quran.
30. The guiding light for those in Authority; a politico-legal treatise similar to the one written by Shaikh Al-Maghili for Sarki Muhammad Rumfa. A Hausa translation of this book has been published by the Gaskiya Corporation.
31. Fortress towns or Camps.
32. 22nd August 1819 (D.M. Last JHSN. VOL.III NO.3, 1966 op. cited p.468.

The old Kano central Mosque, its *qiblah* (Direction of Ka'aba) was established by *Shaikh* Abdullahi Dan Fodio.

CHAPTER FOUR

AMIR IBRAHIM DABO IBN MAHMUD

After the death of Suleiman b.Hama, the *Amir al Mu'minin* Shaikh Muhammad Bello[1] appointed Ibrahim Dabo[2] b. Mahmud as the *Amir* of the Jama'a of Kano on Tuesday 23/24th of Dhulqida after *Salat Dhuhr*[3]. The Chiefs[4] of the *Jama'a* (i.e. members of the Emirate Council) were those earlier mentioned except those who died or were re-assigned due to administrative changes after serious considerations: Such as the commander of the army Sarkin Dawaki Ahmadu who was appointed Sarkin Gaya[5] and his brother Muhammad Bahr Risqu Ajami Ibn Alhaji was appointed Sarkin Dawaki[5]. Sulaiman Ango was appointed Wambai[6]. his Vizier was Wazir Muhammad Thani[7] when he died Wambai was appointed the Vizier. His servants were Shamaki[8] Nasamu, Dan Rimi[9] Barka and others[10].

His scribe wrote letters to his brothers the emirs informing them of his appointment as the *Amir* of Kano. When this message reached Dan Tunku, he made a very unworthy reply. This was because *Amir* Ibrahim requested that Dantunku should 'remove his hand'[11a] from the affairs of the tribe (clan) of Wadabe, Dantunku replied with unpleasant words: "I shall not remove my hands from the affairs of those whom I have had business with[11b]" and that Dabo was not different from his predecessor[12]. When the *Amir* travelled in order to pledge his allegience[13], Dantunku sent messages to the *Kuffar* of Kano asking them to aid him in his planned rebellion, and they responded to his demand. The *Amir* stayed in Kano for six days after his return at the end of Rabi akhir then Dantunku became an apostate[14] openly and he brought misfortune to all those who were with him. There was widespread unrest from the East to West, and left and right in all directions. The *Amir* assembled an army and appointed Madaki[15] as the commander they arrived at Danzabuwa and a battle took place. They advanced and met *'Alim* Bakatsine and others. They later returned to Danzabuwa[16] and there was another encounter with the apostates, the battle was like a rout. The Vizier was at Jalli and he sent Ali[17] with a battalion to Mazan Gudu[18] where they camped. The apostates assembled a very large contigent of soldiers and they spent the night near Ali's battalion. Both sides confronted each other and dispersed as a result of another serious encounter in which *'Alim* Hafiz Muhammad Gwani was martyred none of the houses of the muslims outside the city was left that day (they were all destroyed). The apostates returned to Ali for the second time in Ramadan, there was a battle, they drove Ali, killed and captured prisoners as much as Allah wished and they destroyed all the houses. There was widespread misfortune and unrest, the whole area was in state of confusion. The

Amir went into a peaceful isolation[19] in his house where he stayed for two years, only that it was the house of concubines. The situation became unbearable and more difficult, it was as if they had failed, the situation reached an extreme.

The *Amir* later understood the necessity of *ribat,* he established Panisau[20] with sincere intention he also established Ungogo[21] and Dawaki[22]. As a result of which Allah disgraced the apostates. Dantunku came to Ungogo with his army but returned disappointed and a loser without achieving his goal. His army was very scattered he lost his strength and morale[23]. More *ribats* were established at Dan Madanfo, Mariri and Tanqar[24], so that those around the city could procure firewood and use the available arable land for farming activities. Training of the Army commenced, the - *Jama'a* then prepared for Jirima. The *'Amir* assembled the *Jama'a* admonished them and motivated them to do Jihad and read this verse of the Holy Quran: "So lose not heart, nor fall into despair, for ye must gain mastery if ye are true in faith"[25]. He also read other verses of the Holy Quran and Hadith (sayings) of the Apostle of Allah (May the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him).

BATTLES OF SANTALMAWA, JIJITAR, SANKARA, KUNCHI AND THE LIBERATION OF RANO

The *Jama'a* advanced and were victorious at every point. There was a battle at Gaskole and it was liberated, at Santalmawa they fc ght and returned in peace. Then the battle of Jijitar and it was liberated, in all these battles the time spent was not as long as it will take to milk a goat (they were all brief battles.) As for the battle of Sankara[26] the *Amir* assembled his army and sent to his fellow *Amirs* for aid and he was aided. He therefore organised a very large contigent and prepared to launch the attack. When Ardo Hunturbe[27] heard the movement of this army he assembled the apostates from among the Fulanis, Hausas and Kanuris and drafted a battalion. The army of the apostates waited and they were attacked by the muslim army. The muslims won an easy victory, no muslim was killed, many apostates were killed and their ladies and children were taken away, most of the survivors (from among the apostates) escaped to the borders of Borno and Dagara[28]. There was also the battle of Malikawa and it was also liberated, at that time.

The *Amir* convened the *Jama'a* and preached to them he then appointed Ali[29] as the commander of the military expedition to Kunchi[30]. They met Dambo[31] without any previous information and there was a battle the whole region was liberated in a similar pattern with Sankara. He (the *Amir) returned with his battalion and camped at Tatarawa[32] (or besieged it) hoping to advance to Fagge[33] he covered the* Jama'a and preached to them as usual[34]. He also informed them

of Dantunku's plan in which he instructed the people of Fagge to gather wood and grasses, and set-up fire which will serve as a sign of camping of an army in the area in order to deceive the *Jama'a*. The *Amir* appointed Madaki Umaru(35) as the commander of the contigent that will attack Dantunku and he followed him closely. The army advanced towards them and they started shooting when the Sultan *(Amir* of Kano)appeared,the *Jama'a* became victorious. Then they separated in order to wait for the arrival of Dantunku they waited until sunset but he did not arrive so they returned in peace with booty. Then the battle of Rano(36) and it was liberated, it was a town that had not been liberated until this period, and they found alot of antiquity. The Tyrant Barwa of Rano(37) was killed but there was no serious resistance from him and they acquired alot of booty.

THE BATTLE OF DANTUNKU AT DAN-YAYA

Then the battle of Dantunku at Dan-Yaya. After one year he assembled his army and was given alot of aid by some of his brothers the *Amirs*. When Dantunku learnt of this development he sought the help of the *Kuffar* in order to form a very large army. The two armies met at Sabon Ruwa on Sunday 16th Rabiu Awwal and the *Jama'a* defended and held to the right, Dantunku thought that he had driven them away but the *Amir* of Kano took over the command of his army personally and this changed the course of events. The two men saw each other. Dust was raised at the battle ground as a result of which the *Kuffar* deserted unnoticed until when the dust settled then they were seen escaping to the hills which were spread in borders of their country none of them turned back. Dantunku escaped until he passed his abode. The people of the country fled, no house was left in his territory that day. They returned to the Valley of Sabon Ruwa where they camped. From this battle alot of wealth that could not be estimated were gathered for the *Amir*. Which included camels, lady-slaves, horses, mechandise and many other wordly things.

From this day his governance became strong his political influence increased he was regarded with high esteem, honoured and respected by all *Kafir* chiefs. He became popular and was nicknamed Chigari (liberator of towns)(38) by the people. And Dantunku was very disgraced. He wrote to the *Amir al Mu'minin* (Shaikh Muhammad Bello) asking for forgiveness(39) and return to Islam. He also sent Ardo Hunturbe with a message to the *Amir* of Kano begging for forgiveness and the *Amir* forgave him.. The last to repent was Kashakori. The Amir posted the men of the central ribats to the borders, until the succession of this responsibility reached their grand children today.

He was the sword of Allah[40] *(Saifullah)* in his time because of his strength. He gathered essential properties and horses, he also had brave men, spies and observers, this made the *Kuffar* to loose hope of returning to the religion of their fore-fathers, and he was respected by the rulers because of his authority. Whenever he moved and advanced towards a region nothing will be left in it, and its inhabitants will disperse (in fear because of his strength and strategy). We went on an expedition with him to Dagara[41] until we reached a place called Tunfushi no house in it was left and we destroyed everthing that was in it. The inhabitants escaped to the borders of Borno and we returned in peace with booty and strength of Islam.

Then the region became peaceful, everything settled and Allah made abundant the things of this world (i.e. there was prosperity). He established Justice, instructed people to do good and prevented them from doing evil. He killed the rebels and highway robbers, amputated the hands of the theives and destroyed the houses of the fornicators. There was tranquility to the extent that men no longer closed their doors at night, and animals moved without shephards except during the rainy season. Allah opened the routes during his period, a lady could travel alone from Kukawa to Kwara[41] without any harrassment.

HIS BATTLES IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER:

We shall list his battles of which he commanded thirty and they were: The Battle of Jirima then the battle of Gaskole. Others were the battles of Sintalmawa, Jijitar, Sankara, Malikawa, Dan-Yaya, Dambatta,[42] Garun-Gudunya, Kazaure[43], Dagurawa, Kunya, (twice)Zariya[44], Maradi[45] (twice) Yasko, Kamanah (again) Katsina Hills,Gazawa[46] Dagara, Danpai, Damri, Arbado, Jiratawa, Rimi[47], Daraji and Warji. And in the following battles he appointed commanders: Almawa, Jijitar (again) Dutsen Dan Bakurshi (twice) Jijitar (twice) Ladin Makole[48], Dabi[49] (twice) Karaye, Kanoma, Anka, Maina, Ririwai[50], Gwagwaram, Chammo, Babuye, Maina (again) Tsuburi (twice) Fusatawa, Gandayu, Marma, Lalo, Warji (again) and Matazu[51]. These excluded minor battles and military expeditions.

Amir Ibrahim Dabo Ibn Mahmud governed Kano for twenty six years 2 months and 15 days he died on Friday 9th of Safar at the time of Friday prayer[52], the people of Kano thought that the world will end, because their hearts have been attached to him. May Allah forgive him, have mercy on him and make paradise his abode. May Allah have mercy on the Umma of Muhammad, the muslims and the believers.

(1) See comment number 2 of chapter three.

(2) One of the most just Emirs of Kano. The Chronicle described him as a protector of the orphan and the poor! He was praised as "The sacker of towns has come

Kano is your land

Bull Elephant, Dabo, sacker of towns"

It was during the reign of *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo that Clapperton and his European colleagues first visited Kano on 20th Jan. 1824. Clapperton was introduced to the Emir of Kano by Shaikh Al-Amin of Borno through his friend, Muhammad El-Waday. The chronicle and Muhammad Ibn Salih did not mention the invasion of the Sokoto Caliphate by Borno during the reign of *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo. The invaders came as far as Kano gate but they were repulsed by the *Amir* of Bauchi Yaqub (may Allah have mercy on him). (H.R. Palmer: *The Sudanese Memoirs the Kano Chronicle* p.129, S.J. Hogben: *Islamic States of Northern Nigeria* p.107 and 336).

(3) 24 Dhul-qida 1234 (21 September 1819) (M. Last JHSN Vol.III No.3 1966).

(4) Comparising those representing their clans, and those co-opted on personal merits. It is generally believed that *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo revived the Habe traditional titles. As could be observed in comments 6 and 12. *Amir* Abdullahi Ibn Ibrahim finalised this reversion. It is however believed that *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo sought the authority of the *Amir al-Mu'minin* of Sokoto before he made the changes in the administration, Amir Ibrahim Dabo had to do this because he was confronted with revolts and dissensions, (Adamu Fika: *Kano civil war and the British over-rule 1882-1940* pp.19 and 20.

(5) Throughout the nineteenth century the title of Sarkin Gaya was given to the most outstanding military commander of the period because of its strategic importance. The Kurawa clan had more of this title holders than any other group. (Paden: *Religion and Political culture in Kano* 1973, p.247).

(6) Not a servant as was the case during the reign of *Amir* Sulaiman, an indication of Emir Ibrahim Dabo's restoration of Habe titles. Ango was a friend of the *Amir*, he was very generous he had good character and public relation (H.R. Palmer *Sudanese Memoirs 'The Kano Chronicle'* p.129)

(7) Muhammad Ibn Salih did not report Sani's attempt to instigate a revolt against *Amir* Ibrahim. Sani gave up and reconcilled with the popular *Amir* nicknamed 'cigari' (sacker of towns) because of his victory over all rebels. According to the Kano chronicle Sani was referred to as the Galadima and not Wazir as stated here, the two titles were synonymous in the nineteenth century where only one of them existed but where the two existed the Wazir ranked higher in precedence. According to Adamu Fika Amir Ibrahim Dabo "created the title of Mai Unguwar Mundubawa" and confered it on the family of Sulaiman. He also confered on the Junior branch of the family the title of Dan Amar, Adamu Fika was of the opinion that this was done in order to prevent them from having a unified front for seeking "the throne in future" (H.R. Palmer op. cited p.125 and Adamu Fika op. cited p.20).

(8) Sarki Kutumbi 1623-1648 (1012-1058 AH) was the first to establish the title of Shamaki in the form of Sarkin Shamaki, Bauyi was the first to be appointed. He was in-charge of the Sarki's horses and according to Imam Umoru he was also called Jatau "overseer of slaves". Later in the 19th century the Shamaki became influential, he was in charge of the royal household and all the Hakimai were under him, because he was close to the *Amir*. The Shamaki had sub-ordinates such as Galadiman Shamaki and Chiroman Shamaki. (H.R. Palmer op. cited p.119 and Ferguson: *Nineteenth century Hausaland Being a Description by Imam Umoro of Land Economic and society* Ph.D. Dissertation University of California 1973, p.209).

(9) According to Imam Umoru Dan Rimi was a Senior slave official with a large family house within the palace in which weapons were kept (Ferguson: op. cited p.209).

(10) The others were Salama, Kasheka, Turakin Soro, Kilishi, Sarkin Hatsi, Sarkin Dogarai, Jakadan Garko and Galadiman Panisau (see Adamu Fika op. cited p.19).

(11) (a & b) figurative expressions.

(12) Amir Sulaiman Ibn Aba Hama in whose time Dan Tunku began preparation to revolt.

(13) Shaikh Uthman had died in 1817 AD (1232 AH) the allegiance must have been to Shaikh Muhammad Bello.

(14) Murray Last is of the opinion tht Muhammad Ibn Salih's narration of Dan Tunku's revolt was unfair. However any revolt against the constituted authority of the Sokoto Caliphate was unIslamic unless where an Amir acted contrary to the injunctions of the Sharia. Dan Tunku later repented. (M. Last JHSN Vol. III No.3, 1966 p.462, M. Last and M.A. Al-Hajj: JHSN III, 2, 1965).

(15) This title dates back to the time of Sarki Waris, 455-488 A.H: (1062-1095 AD.) The first Madawaki was Abdullahi and he was among those who were close to the Sarki. *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo revived this Habe title. Throughout the nineteenth century it ranked second where there was no distinction between the Wazir and Galadima and where such distinction existed it ranked third. It has since then been associted with Yolawa clan the present Madaki is Alhaji Umar Mahmud Yola, a highly respected traditional leader.

(16) A village in Bichi Local Government Area.

(17) He was Ali Ibn Sulaiman Ibn Jaoje later appointed Sarkin Dawaki after the martydom of his brother during the reign of *Amir* Abdullahi Ibn Ibrahim.

(18) A village in Dawakin Tofa Local Government Area.

(19) There is difference of opinion among the scholars on this issue, some are of the opinion that it is permissable since some of the Prophets of Allah such as Musa and Isa may Allah be pleased with them went into seclusion and our beloved Prophet (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) before the first revelation. Ibn Tamiyyah and some other scholars believe that his type of seclusion (*Khalwa*) is not permissable since it

has no legal authority because it was performed before the first revelation. According to oral traditions it was after his *Khalwa* that he sought the permission of Sokoto to re-introduce some of the Habe customs. (Ibn Taimiyya: Majmuat Rasail wa Masa'il pp. 248-9 Vol.5 and interview with Mallam Musa Hussaini).

(20) Literarily means the end of atrocites. It later became one of the nineteenth century summer palaces of the *Amir*. In the nineteenth century the Galadiman Panisau was a very influential slave. Panisau is in Ungogo Local Government area. see map 3 (interview with Alhaji Dawaki of Gwangwazo quarters).

(21) Headquarters of Ungogo Local Government Area, see map 3.

(22) Headquarters of Dawakin Kudu Local Government Area, see map 3.

(23) His army was torn apart they went in disarray.

(24) Villages in Dawakin Kudu Local Government Area, see map 3.

(25) You should not be discouraged because of what has happened to you, surely you shall be victorious. (Ibn Kathir: *Tafsir al-Quran* Vol.1, p.409).

(26) A town in Ringim Local Government Area see Map 3, the Sarkin Sankara was among the territorial Chiefs in the 19th century.

(27) There is no information about him. Ardo means a Fulani clan head, a further indication that some of the Fulanis refused to participate in the Jihad.

(28) Another name for Nguru in Borno State.

(29) Same as 17.

(30) Headquarters of Kunchi District in Tsanyawa Local Government Area.

(31) Son of Dantunku he was the second *Amir* of Kazaure; from 1824-57 and was succeeded by his son Muhammad Zangi.

(32) A village in Dawakin Tofa Local Government Area, see Map 3.

(33) On the outskirts of Kano city it was perhaps under siege.

(34) *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo was very learned he used to admonish his colleagues before leaving for any Jihad campaign. *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo was nicknamed "Mallam" by many people because of his knowledge.

(35) He was the first Madaki of Kano after the Hijra, from among the Yolawa he succeeded his uncle *('Alim* Abdurrahman) as a member of the Emirate Council during the reign of *Amir* Sulaiman. He was confered with the title of Madaki when *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo decided to restore some of the Habe titles. Madaki Umaru Married the Daughter of *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo,Kumboto who gave birth to the following Madakis: Ibrahim, Hassan, Hussaini and Kwairanga. Madaki Umaru was martyed and was succeeded by his brother Ahmadu Hadiri. The descendants of Madaki Umaru include: Magajin Rafi Alhaji Mansur Yola, the late Madaki Alhaji Bello Kano and Sarkin Shanu Alhaji Sani Yola.

(36) Rano is one of the seven original Hausa states. Zamagari was the last of Bawo's children, who became the first Sarki of Rano, because of this the Sarkin Rano is still refered to as the "Autan Bawo". Rano was independent of Kano before the Jihad, nobody was appointed as the *Amir* of Rano by the Shaikh this made Rano to become under Kano's jurisdiction. Throughout the nineteenth century the Sarkin Rano was regarded as the most important of the territorial Chiefs of the Emirate. Presently the regalia of the Sarkin Rano is next to that of the Amir of Kano. (S.J. Hogben p.74).

(37) Barwa was a tyrant who refused to accept the Shaikh he therefore indirectly made Kano to Sub-due Rano.

(38) Literarily means the sacker of Towns, he was given this name because of this victories over rebels and apostates. *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo used to shave his head whenever he sacked a town. (H.R. Palmer p.129).

(39) After Dan Tunku's repentance he became recognised as the *Amir* of Kazaure by Khalifa Shaikh Muhammad Bello in 1824, River Korama was made the boundary between Kano and Kazaure. Dan Tunku died a good muslim in 1824 may Allah have mercy on him and was succeeded by his son Dambo. (S.J. Hogben op.cited pp.256-7).

(40) Khalid Ibn Walid was the first to be called Saifullah because of his bravery in Jihad he led several expeditions during the time of the Apostle of Allah (may His peace and blessings be upon him) (Al-Hafiz Yusuf Ibn Abdul-Bar: *Al-Durar* published by Dar al Marif 1983 pp.222, 241 and 258).

(41) This is more of an exageration because not all of the Hausaland was under his juridication so how could he have controlled this long route from one end of the Hausa land to the other. it was however an indication of how successful Amir Ibrahim Dabo's Administration was. There was peace and justice.

(42) According to Dambatta District Note book, the town was established as a footress against Dan Tunku. Sarkin Fulani Hadiri a nephew of Dan Tunku was appointed the territorial Chief under the jurisdiction of the Sarkin Bai. Dambatta is one of the most prosperous Local Governments of Kano. (Dambatta District Notebook: Kano Ministry for Local Government, from John Chamberlin's Notes. Manuscript No.8 Bayero University Library Decements centre).

(43) Kazaure Emirate was founded by Dan Tunku (see comment 39 above).

(44) Zaria Local Government of Kaduna State.

(45) In NIger Republic between Latitude 13° 35'N and Longitude 8° 10'E, it was then under Randa Dan Magaji Halidu.

(46) Gazawa is in Niger Republic.

(47) A village in Sumaila Local Governmet Area, of Kano State.

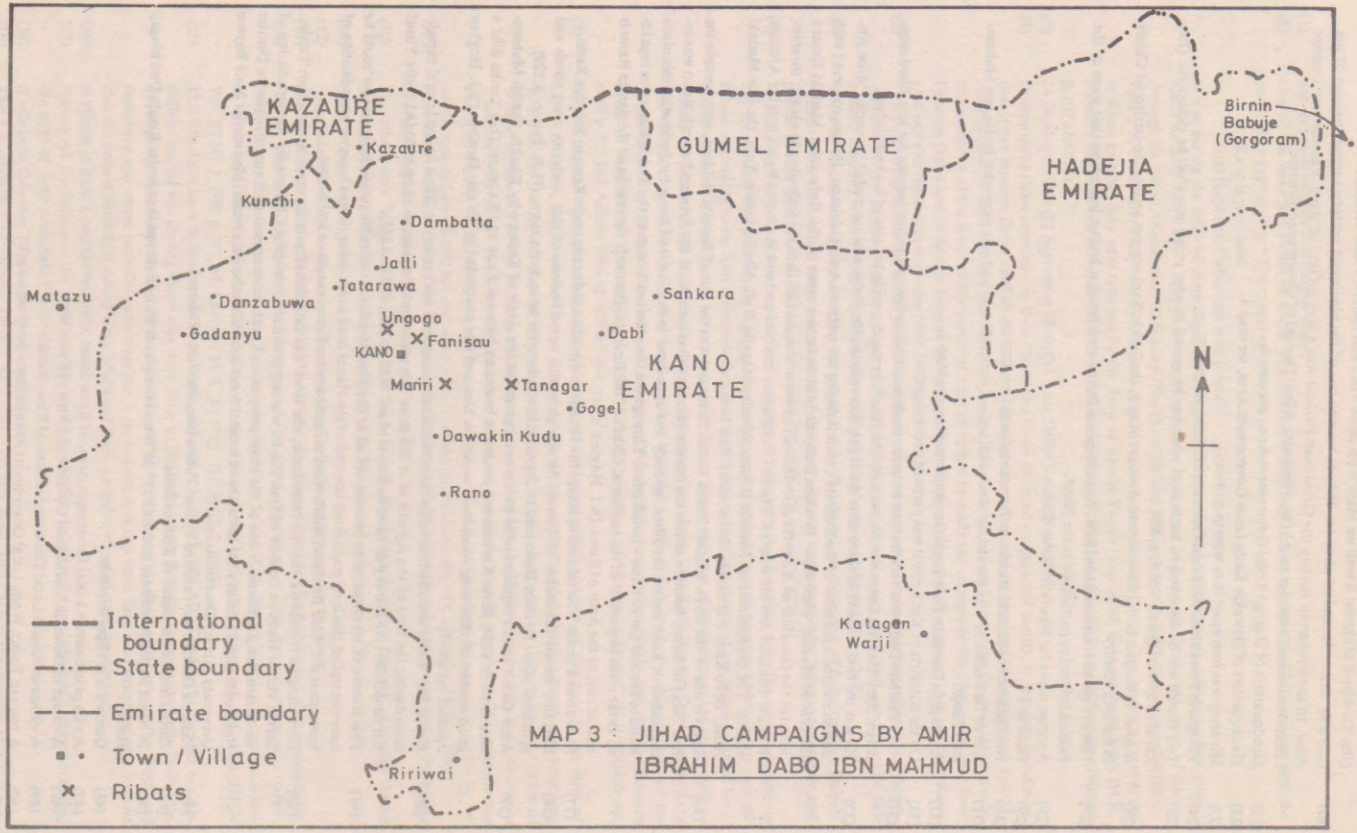
(48) A village in Dawakin Kudu Local Government Area of Kano State.

(49) A village in Ringim Local Government Area of Kano State.

(50) A town in Tudun Wada Local Government Area of Kano State see map 3.

(51) A town in Katsina State, see map 3.

(52) This is wrong Ibrahim Dabo b. Mahmud ruled Kano for 27 years 3 months and 15 days if the date of his appointment was 24 Dhul Qa'da 1234 and the date of his death was 9th Safar 1262. Although in the copy of *Taqyid al-akhbar* used by Murray Last the date of death given was 15th Safar which is also inaccurate as asserted by Murray Last, himself. (See D.M. Last JHSN Vol. III No.3 Dec. 1966 pp.468-9).



MAP 3 : JIHAD CAMPAIGNS BY AMIR IBRAHIM DABO IBN MAHMUD

CHAPTER FIVE

AMIR UTHMAN IBN IBRAHIM DABO

When the Amir of Kano Ibrahim Dabo Ibn Mahmud died the *Amir al-Mu'minin* Aliyu(1) Ibn Shaikh Muhammad Bello appointed Uthman(2) Ibn Ibrahim Dabo as the Amir of the *Jama'a* of Kano.

The first three years of his administration were peaceful and quite, then *Fitna* stated. The first *Fitna* was that of Hamza(3) although he moved to Bauchi hence it was not serious in our region and a *ribat* was established at Rumo with Guru as its custodian. Then the *Fitna* of the *Shaqiy*(4) the malefactor escalated at Hadejia followed by the disturbance of the Tyrant of Damagram(5). He camped at Chiromawa for two months where he carried out military expeditions for capturing prisoners and battles also took place there. Then the *Fitna* of the gathering of the Tyrants of Gobir, Katsina and Damagaram(6), who assembled their forces and invaded this country. The people of the regions attacked, assembled at Dukawa. They attacked and killed all those who were in the town. Then they decided to retreat without any reason. Allah protected the muslims against their evil acts. Their *Fitna* was restricted to the borders by Allah and it did not reach central part of this country. There were alot of defeats in his time(7).

The Shaqiy took prisoners (in raids) killed the righteous and the debauchee. Allah removed compassion from his heart because he killed a great number of Muslims, believers, *Hufaz al-Quran*(8) Scholars, pious individuals, *Hujaj*(9) his brothers, his brothers' children, his relatives and his father's slaves. We even heard that he had killed ladies and children so that he could perfectly "carry his sins"(10) on the day of judgement. He killed the grandson of Shaikh Uthman (whose name was) Hassan Ibn Dambo he was therefore similar to Yazid(11) Ibn Muawiya who killed Hussaini(12) the grandson of the Prophet (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him). This was the meaning of the saying of the poet,

> "Do the community that killed
> Hussain hope for the inter-
> cession of his grandfather(13)
> on the day of reckoning?"

The case of the *Shaqiy* was similar to this, does he therefore hope of the Shaikh's intercession(14) on the day of reckoning?

Among his Chiefs were the Wazir who was his full brother Abdullahi(15) to whom he delegated most of the administrative functions. In his time *Alim* Dabo Dambazau died and he appointed his son Muhammad Kwairanga(16) to succeed him. Madaki Umaru also died

and he appointed his brother Ahmadu Hadiri(17). When *Alqadi* Ashafa(18) died he appointed Muhammad Zangi Ibn Salih(19). Sarkin Dawaki Muhammad known as Bahr Risqu also died and he appointed his son Abdu(20) the commander of his army was Sarkin Dawaki Dan Ladan(21), and Dan Iya Lawal(22) (was also among his Chiefs) when Shamaki Abdu died he appointed Isa to succeed him, Dankaka also succeeded Barka as the Dan Rimi. Whoever died among the Chiefs or slaves his son or brother was appointed to succeed him because they were appointed by his father and he decided to continue with his father's policies without making any changes(23).

Uthman died amidst this *Fitna* (of the Shaqiy). He governed Kano for nine years and nine months(24). May Allah forgive him, have mercy on him and all the community of muslims Amin.

COMMENTARY

1. *Amir al-Mu'minin* Aliyu Babba Ibn Shaikh Muhammad Bello (Mai Shinaka) born in 1223 A.H. (1808 A.D.) at Sala. He was appointed in charge of the ribat of Shinaka in 1836 he was later appointed the Sarkin Sudan of Wurno *(Amir-al Sudan)*. He was elected *Amir al-Mu'minin* in 1842 at the age of 34 years. He was a scholar a kind hearted muslim, a Mujahid who was merciless to enemies of Allah. He signed a treaty with Dr Barth (on behalf of the Queen) guaranteeing the safety of British traders. Aliyu died in 1859, he had reigned for 17 years during which he appointed 16 emirs (5 to Zaria and 2 to Kano). He was succeeded by his cousin Ahmadu Zaruq Ibn Atiku. (M. Last: *The Sokoto Caliphate* pp.83-88 and S.J. Hogben: *History of Islamic states of Northern Nigeria* pp.209-230 and 2.9.)
2. He became the Amir of Kano in March 1846 (Rabi Awwal 1262) at the age of 33 years. Dr. Barth who visited Kano in 1851 while Uthman was the *Amir* described it as a prosperious and beautiful country "the garden of central Africa". During that period Kano was a commercial centre with a population of over 30,000. The principal produce of Kano was cloth other items from North Africa, were also available at the market. During the reign of *Amir* Uthman Ibn Ibrahim, Sarkin Dutse Bello became strong and influential, the Kano authorities feared that he might steer a revolt he was therefore invited to Kano and was assasinated in 1846. The reign of *Amir* Uthman was generally unevenful but he was a pious and generous *Amir*. (M. Last: JHSN VOL.III No.3 Dec. 1966, Dr. Barth *A Journal of Travels in Africa in North and central Africa* Vol.I pp.494-525 and Alhaji Abdullahi Maikano Dutse: *Tarihin Dutse* unpublished 1976).
3. Hamza was a notorious syncritist who employed unIslamic means (magic) to win the support of ignorant people, he had a large number of followers made up of students, slaves and dissident scholars. They refused to pay tax. Amir Uthman therefore ordered Hamza and his followers to leave Kano territory. Hamza moved South to Duwa where he was received cordially by the Chief Dan Daura. Later Hamza gained the support of Butawa through his magic and defeated Dan Daura. Thus Hamza became the Chief of the Mountain pagans and they raided neighbouring regions of the Sokoto Caliphate with impunity. Hamza was killed by the warriors of Bauchi. (H.I. Said: Ph.D. Dissertation University of Michigan pp.198-202 and S.J. Hogben op.cited p.247).
4. Shaqiy means Naughty. The Shaqiy of Hadejia was Bukhari a notorious tyrant and rebel, he became the Amir of Hadejia in 1848 through deception, he abdicated in 1850 and his brother Ahmadu was elected. Bukhari returned in 1851 and killed his brother and became the tyrant of Hadejia, he was no longer an Amir since he did not acknowledge the authority of the *Amir al-Mu'minin*. With the help of Bornu he raided Kano and the neighbouring Emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate and terrorised their inhabitants. Bukhari met his unfortunate death at the battle front. (see comment 53 of ch.6) (S.J. Hogben op. cited 265-267, M. Last *The Sokoto Caliphate* pp.88-9 and 160).
5. The Tyrant of Damagaram at this time was Ibram based at Zinder he raided Kano territory with impunity due to the weakness of the *Amir* of Kano (Dr. Barth: op. cited Vol.I pp.494-525).
6. The Tyrant of Gobir in this time was Maiyaki dan Yakuba who ruled at Tsibiri (1836-58) while the tyrant of Katsina was one of the sons of Agwaragi who ruled from maradi after their expulsion from the main Katsina as a result of the Jihad and the tyrant of Damagaram was sarki Ibram of Zinder. They raided the Sokoto Caliphate enslaved freeborn muslims and destroyed their farmlands. (S.J. Hogben op. cited p..218, 95 and 183.
7. Uthman was not a good Military strategist unlike his father *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo and his brother *Amir* Abdullahi Ibn Ibrahim. Barth H., op. cited Vol. I p.494.
8. Hufaz: (Sing. Hafiz) those who have committed the Quran to memory.
9. Hujaj (Sing. Al-Hajj) those who were at Makkah for the Holy Pilgrimage.
10. A figurative expression.

11. Abu Khalid Al-Umawiy born in 26 A.H. He was a tyrant who became the Caliph after the death of his father Muawiya Ibn Abi Safyan. Hussian and Adullahi Ibn Zubair may Allah be pleased with them did not pledge allegiance to him. Naefi Ibn Abi Al-Farat has said "I was with Umar Ibn AbdulAzeez when somebody said *Amir al-Mu'minin* Yazeed Ibn Muawiyya he had him whipped 20 times for calling such a tyrant *Amir al-Mu'minin*". Yazeed Ibn Muawiyya plundered the city of Madina and siezed 1000 virgins. Muslim has transmitted in his collection of Ahadiths that the Apostle of Allah (Peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) has said "Whoever intimidates the people of Madina, Allah shall intimidate him". "The worst of all the atrocities Yazeed committed was that he ordered Hussain b. Ali b. Abi Talib to be killed. This order was executed by his representative in Iraq Ubaidullah Ibn Ziyad who sent the head of Hussain to Yazid in a cog" Jalaludeen Assuyuti: *Tarikh al-Khulafa* Beirut 1974 p.191-196).

12. Hussain Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Talib, a grandson of the Apostle of Allah (Peace and blessings of Allah be upon him). The people of Iraq called on Hussain to move to Kufa he was encouraged to move by Abdullahi Ibn Zubair. While Abdullahi Ibn Abbass and Abdullahi Ibn Umar discouraged him. Ibn Umar even told him that "Your grandfather was given two choices this world or the hereafter, he chose the hereafter, you are part of him do not tilt towards this world", he embraced him and wept, he used to say Hussain was adamant we could not discourage him. Ibn Abbass told him "I think you might be killed on your way". Hussain (may Allah have mercy on him) was killed by the followers of Yazid in Karbala, it was one of the most tragic events in the history of Islam. (Assuyuti op.cited pp.191-196).

13. On the day of Judgement the Apostle of Allah (may His peace and blessings be upon him) shall intercede for those that believed in him and followed his sunnah. (see Ibn Taimiyyah: *Al Tawasul wal Wasilah.*

14. *Some of the scholars are of the opinion that saints shall intercede for good muslims, with Allah's permission.*

15. *According to the Kano Chronicle Abdullahi was the Galadima, which was synonymous with the Waziri during the administrations of Emirs Sulaiman, Dabo and Uthman. Where both titles existed the Wazir ranked first in precedence then the Galadima. Abdullahi was very powerful as was reported by both the chronicle and Dr. Barth; when Amir Uthman died he had no rival. (H.R. Palmer p.129 and Dr. Barth op. cited pp.494-524).*

16. *See comment 13 chapter 6.*

17. *Ahmadu Hadiri: the son of the famous saint 'Alim* Jibril he was married to Rakiya the daughter of *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo. The mother of Madaki Hadir was a sister of Dan Tunku.

18. *Al-qadi* Ashafa Ibn Borabindi Ibn Muhammad appointed Chief Qadi by Emir Ibrahim Dabo, he was a cousin of the Author (Muhammad Ibn Salih). A learned and reputable scholar he was student of Al-Qadi Salih Ibn Muhammad (his uncle) and his father Borabindi. (I. Ado: *History and Geneology of the Gyanawa 1000A H to date.* pp.10-11).

19. Author of Taqyid Al-Akhbar.

20. Removed from his office of the Commander of the army by *Amir* Abdullahi Ibn Ibrahim (H.R. Palmer p.131).

21. Killed by Dan Baskori (the Tyrant of Maradi) in a battle near Gwarzo while commanding Kano army during the reign of *Amir* Abdullahi Ibn Ibrahim. The Kano forces were disgraced at this Battle (H.R. Palmer p.130).

22. Killed at Kuluki in an encounter with the Umbatawa he was therefore like the above (21) a martyr (H.R. Palmer p.130).

23. This is the only meaningful translation of the phrase. The reason for this Pattern of succession is not logical and it is contrary to the Islamic norm. Shaikh Abdullahi Ibn Fudi has condemned succession based on inheritance or through force in his *Diya al-Umara.* (See comment 4 of the conclusion).

24. He died on Sunday 12th Dhul Hija 1271 (26th August 1955) at the age of forty-two years. According to Dr. Barth he died of cholera. (M. Last: JHSN Vol. III, No.3, Dec. 1966 AND Dr. H. Barth: op. cited Vol. I, P.494).

CHAPTER SIX

AMIR ABDULLAHI IBN IBRAHIM DABO

When the Amir of Kano Uthman Ibn Ibrahim died the *Amir al Mu'minin* Aliyu Ibn Shaikh Muhammad Bello appointed his brother Abdullahi(1) Ibn Ibrahim the Amir of the *Jama'a* of Kano. When he assumed office he made no changes he left everything as it was, if any one died his son or brother was appointed to succeed him, and if he was from among the slaves(2) that help in the administration any other competent person was normally appointed. I shall list for you the chiefs (officials) that are present today due to the frequent occurrance of death they are(3) his son, the vizier (Al-wazir) Muhammad(4) (grandson of Ibrahim Dabo,) his half brothers Galadima Abdul qadir(5) Wambai Hassan(6), Dan Lawan Yusuf(7) and Dan Isa(8) his full brothers Turaki Muhammad Bello(9) and Sarkin Shanu Hassan(10), and his son Dan Buram(11) (grandson of Ibrahim Ibn Mahmud). Others are Makama Abubakar Ibn Isa(12) Sarkin Bai Muhammad Kwairanga(13) Al-Qadi Muhammad Zangi Ibn Salih(14), *'Alim* Ishaq Ibn Muhammad Gwani (the well known)(15), Sarkin Dawaki Abubakar Ibn Sulaiman(16) Dan Amar Uthman Ibn Muhammad Thani(17) and Dan Makwayo Muhammad Gidado Ibn *'Alim* Danzabuwa(18). His slaves that help in the administration of the Emirate include Shamaki Maigari, Dan Rimi Salam, Turaki Barka, Turakin Soro(19) and Kasheka(20) Gajere. The officials at the Ribat with his son Chiroma(21) Yusuf(22) as their chief include Madaki Hassan(23) who was appointed after the martyrdom of his brother Ismaila both grandsons of the famous saint *'Alim* Jibril(24). Sarkin Dawaki Ali was also appointed after the martyrdom of his brother Abubakar both grandsons of Jaoje(25). Others are Sarkin Dawaki Uthman Ibn *'Alim* Jammo(26) Magajin Mallam Al Hausawi(27) (grandson of 'Alim Yusuf), Dan Iya Muhammad Rabiu(28) grandson of Alim Danzabuwa, Ibrahim b. Barde Kerariya(29) and Yusuf b. Shuso Jaidanawa(30). His slave who was used in helping the administration but was at the *Ribat* was Mainasara, he was replaced by Barde Jammo(31) at the Garki *ribat in the northward direction. His scribe is Ibrahim b. Baban Kowa(32) the famous writer. The Imam of the Mosque is Abdulqadir b. Abdullahi Jangowa Al-Gyanawy(33), the Sankurmi*. Musa b. Galadima Ango(34) his representative for slave affairs is Ma'ajin Watari, Sulaiman(35). The custodian of Bait al-mal is Yahaya Ibn Gado and many others (Chiefs).

He was(36) a man who had established justice. He had strong resolution in his sincere intention for *Jihad* activities. He instructed the doing of good actions and forbade evil acts. He had stood in the position

of his father in preparing weapons, horses, brave warriors and guns. When he assumed office as the Amir he used to go out of the city in the afternoon with his soldiers from among the residents of the city. He will divide the horses into groups and arrange them in order, the gunmen were also arranged in a similar pattern. Military training in form of war simulations were performed by the soldiers(37). They practiced shooting with their guns, and all the others were also engaged in the exercise each individual with his colleague. They were learning and imitating physical Jihad as instructed by Allah the Almighty: "Against them make ready strength to the utmost of your power"(38). And the Apostle of Allah (may His peace and blessings be upon him) has said "strength is shooting, shoot and ride, to shoot is better than to ride"(39). This training went on for several months.

The Amir of Kano assembled his army and was ready to meet the *Shaqiy* the trouble-maker. He said "Whenever he carries out his raids and comes into our territory we shall confront him and Allah will judge between us". The Shaqiy feared the Military preperedness of the *Amir's* troops because of their training programmes. Therefore he did not attack Kano territory until when the Amir travelled (to Sokoto) to pay homage, he invaded Kano territory and reached Kademi(40). When the *Amir* returned and found out what the *Shaqiy* had done he said "he is a thief or a rogue (therefore) no confrontation"(41). Then the *Shaqiy* wrote a letter to the *Amir* seeking for peace and return to the *Jama'a* this was when his followers were suffering from hunger. He was interceding with him to *Amir al-Mu'minin.* The *Amir* convened(42) the *Jama'a* and read the letter of the *Shaqiy* and asked them "have you understood what is in it" and they said "we have undersood". The *Amir* then sought their opinion most of the members of the *Jama'a* said "do not respond to him, do not send his case to the *Amir al-Mu'minin* and send away his messenger". A few of them said peace and good health are more important than any other thing. Their opinions therefore differed hence they said "we leave everything to Allah, we rely on Him and He shall choose for us (what to do)"(43), and they dispersed. The *Jama'a* assembled again and he informed them that "it has occurred to me that I should send to him so that I could varify his situation, I shall give his messenger upto Thursday if what he sent to us is true his messenger shall return within this limit and if not he will not"(44). The *Jama'a* accepted this suggestion. The messenger returned at the appointed time the issue was therefore refered to the *Amir al-Mu'minin* and there was peace for a few days. Then he reverted to his known behaviour he entered Jarma Disa(45) and destroyed all those who were in Tashena(46) and camped at Sakuwa(47). He then wrote a letter to the *Amir al-Mu'minin* Ahmad(48) informing him that he has returned to the *Jama'a. He annexed portions of Kano and Katagum regions into*

his territory(49). In this circumstance he advanced with his army to Birnin Babuje(50) and forced himself into the town where he was stroke with swords and spears, he fell and he was taken by some of his servants who were dragging him on the ground. He was then taken to Hadejia where he died after a few days(51). Allah brought an end to this *Fitna* with his death during the time of Abdullahi b. Ibrahim without any clear (face to face) confrontation. It was also during the time of Abdullahi b. Ibrahim that Allah brought to an end the Fitna of the Tyrant of Damagaram(52). When he was driven out of the city of Daura, and he died a few days later.

THE FITNA OF MOUNTAIN TRIBES

Then the *Fitna* of the *Kuffar* of the mountains became serious(53). This was because the *Amir* of Bauchi camped against them (he was at the *ribat)* for years then he realised the weakness of his men in Jihad, the strength of the *Kuffar* against them and change in his people's attitude he therefore assembled all those under his authority and returned to Bauchi. The discontentment and pride of the *Kuffar* increased and they started sending military expeditions to every part of the region(54), and were taking prisoners. They reached all the *ribats* until they entered and started changing the borders (of Kano). The *Amir* advanced to the area he camped at Falali(55). He consulted the *Jama'a* "What do we do first? to invade or to build fortified towns": They agreed that they should build the fortified towns of the whole area. *Murabitun(56)* were stationed in the area. Then he assembled his army and met the *Amir* of Bauchi Ibrahim(57) in a place near the area of the *Murabitun.* They descended on Duwa(58) and fought in it, few of the houses were destroyed. Then each of them returned to his city. The Amir of Kano assembled an army at the end of summer and advanced without any other group until he descended on Daraja(59), where he fought the people of the town, defeated them and destroyed their houses. He then stopped at Tufai(60) the inhabitants of the town destroyed their own houses. Then he descended on Bunga the inhabitants have already deserted and have left behind their properties and in this place we found alot of property. They assembled their group and attacked us at night and we defended against them, Allah disgraced them and they found nothing.

The mountains of Warji were attacked from the West in a place called Sirfa. They were given great assistance by the Tyrant and we fought them in the morning, they were held by the *Amir*(61). We rushed into them and it did not change their stand. We started killing and lacerating until we reached the end of the mountain, they stopped there, inside a narrow cave. Then he returned to the camp after sunset, they requested for security and it was granted by the *Amir.* We ad-

vanced passing through them, they were watching with astonishment the power of Islam from the top of their mountain until we reached the east (from their own view) a place near Gwaram called Aru. The people of this place have deserted, those left behind came asking for security and it was granted by the *Amir*. The *Amir* prepared for the homeward journey and he advanced with the strength of Islam.

Then they violated the peaceful (security) accord. The *Amir* assembled all his men not a single person in his domain was left out. He advanced with his army until he reached Daraja he found no one in the settlement, only a few houses. He then arrived at Tufi and camped. Dan Maje(62) the *Musailamah* of this time arrived with his group and entered the city of Tufi which was contigious with mountains and it will take two days to go round these mountains. When the Amir became sure of the arrival of the Tyrant he prepared and moved until he reached the city and we ran into them, we relieved them of the area by force until they reached the mountains then they relieved us and expelled us out of the city. We relieved them for the second time and entered the city, the *Amir* stood in the city and ordered for its demolishment and we demolised all that was in the area until it became an open route. Each of the commanders took his shade the *Wazir*(63) was appointed to deputise for the *Amir*. The *Wazir* came out of his shade and we fought with them until sunset. He then returned to his guards (camp) and left the generality of the people at the battle front until dawn and they continued (fighting) like that until sunset and then continued until dawn. The army rose and the *Wazir* was standing with them and the Kuffar rose against him. They fought each other and the *Kuffar* were driven into the city. The *Amir* joined the *Wazir* and stood until the dust of the army calmed down. He instructed the Wazir to stand for sometime. He later followed the *Amir* from the rear and they advanced until they reached Bunga, it was at Bunga that the *Amir* of Bauchi came and joined them. We then took to arms together until we reached his gate, we waited for him for two days but we did not see any of them (64) only on the top of the mountains.

They 'took to arms' and moved until they stopped at Gamawa(65). The *Amir* instructed the people of the town to leave their houses and migrate to our region, they listened and obeyed, we returned with them and entered the city (of Kano). We slept in the town (Kano) for nine nights. Then came the news of the Tyrant and the *Amir* went out. We advanced until we arrived at Garin Ali, because of this news we rode continuously until sunset, we prayed the *Maghrib* and then we advanced until we reached Abladu and met the people of the *ribat* who informed us that the liar had gone far away. We returned to Fadli(66) at midnight we dismounted and it became the reason for our camping there for three years. The liar was restrained, he was disturbed and this great *ribat* was oppressive to him. His force became weak

his acitivity became less and his might was softened, his people started leaving him to join us and his command became scattered and their opinions differed. And they were in this state when the *'Amir* requested for assistance from his brothers the *Amir* (Governors) and they responded(67). The army advanced after the meeting of the *'Amirs* (Governors) until we met the *'Amir* of Bauchi. We stopped at a place known as Daraja then at Tufi. The liar became frightened that year and he did not come to us. We then arrived at Bunga then stopped at Sirr. The *Amir* consulted the chosen few on whether to fight the *Kuffar* first or to destroy their farms, they answered that "their farms, should be destroyed". We were therefore made to roam about in the farms and plantations for forty days destroying them by eating and burning their western part until we arrived Fagam(68) region. They came asking for peace and security, the *Amir* seized and killed their leaders who were sympathisers of the liar. And the others were given assurance of peace and security on the condition that no one from among the liar's people shall enter into their area even for business and they agreed. Their *Sultan* was returned to his house of Authority (palace).

We advanced and attacked the *Kuffar's* gate, we were prepared for the battle then our horses clashed with their horses in their mountains and they retreated in defeat. They ascended to their mountains and our horses and armoured men ascended to them and then we mixed up fighting each other (Muslims versus *Kuffar).* We descended slowly into the region of the *Amir* of Bauchi. The *Jama'a defeated the Kuffar* by killing their men and seizing their ladies and children and this continued on the second and third mornings. The *Amir* rode and roamed about the whole of the mountains and nobody was found in the area. He then instructed that the booty should be divided and one fifth removed(69) (and preserved for the poor). The army became the army of victory. Warji was defeated it had not been liberated i.e. forced liberation until during his time. Alot of booty and *Fay*(70) that could not be estimated were acquired. He was feared by the *Kuffar* of the mountains because of this (victory). He returned in peace with booty and powerfully with the strength of Islam. He was in the venue of the *ribat*(71) the following year for the purpose of mobilisation, the position of the lair was therefore weakened. Then he left the *ribat* because of the letter of the *Amir al-Mu'minin*(72) instructing him to participate in the Harifa expedition. The *Fitna* situation returned as it was because of his departure. We pray to Allah to defend and protect us against this *fitna*. And may He bless us with His abundant blessings. Oh Allah destroy the lair Dan Maje and his men because of(73). Shaikh Uthman, Shaikh Muhammad Bello, Shaikh Abdullahi and Shaikh Muhammad Tukur(74). And Allah is enough for us as a guide, sustainer, helper and we depend on Him. Oh Allah we ask you for your grace and blessings no one has power over anything except you.

The following are (75) among the most learned scholars of his time *'Alim* Abdul Azeez Al-Gyanawy(76) *'Alim* Abdullahi, *'Alim* Shaikh AbdulQadir Imam(77) of Kano, *'Alim* Umar Ibn *'Alim* Yaqub, Imam of the journey *'Alim* Adiu, *'Alim* Uthman, *'Alim* Arabu and *Alim* Dan-Jadda.

COMMENTARY

(1) He became the *Amïr* of Kano on Sunday 4th Muharram 1272, 16th September 1855 at the age of Forty-one years. The *Cucanawa* (Palace slaves) became very powerful and influential in his time. It was *Amir* Abdullahi who finalised the reversion to pre-Jihad system of titles. Nevertheless he was one of the most Just Emirs of Kano, because according to oral sources he had his son killed, for highway robbery and corruption. According to the Kano chronicle, he was called "Abdu Sarkin Yanka" when he directed that all robbers should be killed and hands of thieves cut-off. *Amir* Abdullahi had 166 children (100 daughters and 66 sons) by the time he died most of the chiefs in Kano have married his daughters. Cordial relationships that existed between *Amir* Abdullahi's family and the Chiefs of Kano became politicised during the Kano civil war. *Amir* Abdullahi's family have since dominated Kano Politically. Presently all Sullubawa titles are held by Abdullahi's progeny. In 1862 Dr. Baikie led a European expedition to Kano and *Amir* Abdullahi wrote to Queen Victoria of England seeking for assistance in Manufacturing of Guns. He died on 12th Shawwal 1299, (18th September) at the age of 68 years at Karofi village on his way to Kaura-Namoda to meet *Amir al Mu'minin* Umar Ibn Aliyu he was therefore posthomously called Maje Karofi. (D.M. Last: JHSN Vol.III No.3 1966 pp.468 H.R. Palmer: *Sudanese Memoirs The Kano Chronicle"* p.130, John Lavers: *Diplomatic Relations of the Sokoto Caliphate: Some Thoughts and a plea.* (Sokoto seminar papers 1975) p.361 and interviews with Mallam Daud Dan Sarkin Kano Alu and Alh. Dawaki conducted separately in 1987).

(2) *Amir* Abdullahi made palace slaves (cucanawa) more influential than free-born title-holders. Example of such influential slaves was Irwa who was given to *Amir* of Kano by *Amir* of Hadejia (interview with Alhaji Dawaki).

(3) Present tense because the book was written when they were all title holders.

(4) In the 19th century Kano atimes the Wazir was referred to as the Galadima but where both titles existed the Wazir was higher than the Galadima in precedence. Wazir Muhammad was the eldest son of *Amir* Abdullahi. His son Abdullahi was also appointed Wazir after the European conquest but was later deposed by the British (interview with Mallam Daud Dan Sarkin Kano Alu (Aliyu Babba) Kurawa quarters May 87).

(5) Galadima Abdulqadir was deposed by the *Amir* Abdullahi this was after the death of Muhammad Ibn Salih because the Kano chronicle recorded only the later events of the reign of *Amir* Abdullahi (H.R. Palmer op. cited page 131).

(6) He was succeeded by Muhammad Nakande.

(7) The title of Dan Lawal was a pre-Jihad title re-introduced by the Sullubawa. It was first mentioned in the chronicle during the reign of Sarki Bawa (1660-70) who confered the title of Dan Lawal on Abdullahi after the death of the incumbent. Dan Lawal Yusuf was a candidate for succession after the death of *Amir* Abdullahi. According to Murray Last he was not acceptable to Abdurrahman Danyen Kasko because he refused to give him his saddle cloth. Mallam Daudu Dan Sarkin Kano Alu (Aliyu Babba) confirmed that Dan Lawal Yusuf was a candidate for succession this is contrary to Adamu Fika's suggestion that it was Dan Lawal Ayuba. R.A. Adeleye did not state the name of the Dan Lawal who was the candidate but confirmed that he died soon after the succession. (R.R. Palmer op. cited p.112, Adamu Fika: *Kano civil war and The British over-rule* pp.11 and 52, M. Last: *The Sokoto Caliphate* p.170 and R.A. Adeleye *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria).*

(8) Dan Isa is a pre-Jihad title this Dan Isa was perhaps Sa'adu b. Ibrahim.

(9) He was appointed to succeed Abdullahi b. Ibrahim and he implemented unpopular policies which plunged Kano into a devastating civil war after his death. He deposed all the sons of Amir Abdullahi Ibn Ibrahim who were title holders and also ordered all the Kano Chiefs marrying their sisters to divorce them. He deposed the Galadima Mallam Ibrahim Bazazzagi because of the atrocities Mallam Ibrahim committed during *Amir* Abdullahi's reign he also ordered him out of Kano. *Amir* Bello appointed Tukur his eldest son as the Galadima. He also turned out of office Qadi Sulaiman who was appointed by *Amir* Abdullahi after the assassination of Qadi Ahmadu Rufai. Sulaiman was of the Jobawa clan while Ahmadu Rufai was a Bagyne. He appointed a nephew of Ahmadu Rufai, Al-qadi Baffa Bagyne as the Chief qadi, who benefited from his generousity. He also deposed Chiroma Musa and appointed his son Abubakar. His friend Nagytum was his Wazir but was referred to as the Sarkin Fada (Chief of the Palace) because of his intimacy with the *Amir.* The title of Turaki was a pre-Jihad title associated with eunuchs. Turaki was also a member of the Tara ta Kano (The Council of state during Habe Era). When Bello became the *Amir* he appointed his son Zakari as Turaki. He was the *Amir* of Kano from Dhul-qa'da 1299 (September 1882) to Saturday Jumada'ula 1311 (25th November 1893) (Adamu Fika op. cited pp.8 to 74, H.R. Palmer op. cited pp.129 to 132, M. Last op. cited JHSN 1966 Vol. III 3 p.46, I. Ado: *History and Geneology of the Gyanawa* pp.12 and 13)

(10) Sarki Kutumbi (1032 - 1058 AH, 1623 - 1648 AD) was the first to establish the office of Sarkin Shanu (Chief of cattle) he was responsible for cattle tax (Jangali) collection from the Fulani. Kutumbi appointed his slave Ibo as the first Sarkin Shanu. This Sarkin Shanu used to act as the Chief Executive in the absence of the Sarki. Sarkin Shanu Hassan was deposed by *Amir* Bello who appointed his son Datti. Throughout the nineteenth century the title of Sarkin Shanu was associated with the Sullubawa but in the twentieth century it became a Yola title (H.R. Palmer pp.118 and 119, interview with Mallam Dauda Dan Sarkin Kano Alu (Aliyu Babba) (Ibn Aliyu).

(11) Buram was among the princes that came to Kano with Bagauda his descendants where subsequently conferred with the title of Dan Buram. The Sullubawa made it a Sullubawa title and it had since been associated with the brothers or sons of the *Amir*. The Dan Buram mentioned here was probably Dan Buram Mamman Mailafiya.

(12) The title of Makama was a Habe title, the first Makama was Gargi during the reign of Waris' son of Bagauda (1063-1095 AD, 455-488 AH). Muhammad Rumfa made Makama a member of the "Tarata Kano". In the nineteenth century the title of Makama became associated with the Jobawa. The grand father of Makama Abubakar (i.e. Mallam Saidu who was a student and associate of *'Alim Bakatsine. The present Makama is Ibrahim Cigari who is also a descendant of Mallam Saidu) (H.R. Palmer op. cited pp.100 and 112 and Adamu Fika pp.9).*

(13) This was a pre-Rumfa Habe title, but Rumfa was the first to appoint a eunuch to this important state office. The Sarkin Bai was a member of the "Tarata Kano", from the time of Rumfa to Alwali. This was contrary to the Dambazau tradition which claimed that it was confered on Dabo Dambazau as a concilatory title indicating that he shall succeed Ibrahim Dabo as the *Amir*. Muhammad Kwairanga was the Sarkin Bai from 1845 to 1884. (H.R. Palmer pp.111-112 and Adamu Fika pg.9 and 10).

(14) Author of Tayyid al-Akhbar.

(15) A scholar and Historian. He was one of the teachers of Muhammad Ibn Salih. He was a member of the Emirate Council by the virtue of his scholarship. He succeeded his father who was also a scholar of repute. (see comment 9 chapter 3).

(16) A grandson of Jaoje. Sarkin Dawaki was an excellent military commander he was lucky to have been martyred at the Ribat.

(17) A Habe title retored by *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo, and was confered on the junior branch of the Sulaiman family. Uthman was appointed Dan Amar after the death of his father Muhammad Thani. (Adamu Fika op.-cited p.20)

(18) A Habe title established by Sarki Muhammad Kisoki Ibn Abdullahi (914-972 AH, 1509-1565 AD) the first was Dan Makwayo Jigu. It was a title of the princes but the Sullubawa later confered it to the Danejawa, Muhammad Gidado was the son of the famous head of Danejawa *'Alim* Danzabuwa. After the civil war the Sullubawa made it their title.

(19) Referred to as the "guardian of the inner room" by Imam Umaru. He was in-charge of the Emir's rooms, a title of Eunuchs (Ferguson op. cited p. 209).

(20) The distributor of household items to the *Amir's* wives also a title of the eunuchs.

(21) Chiroma was the most important of the Sarki's children he was infact the sarki's favourite son. In the later part of the Habe era the chiroma replaced the Turaki as a member of the "Tara ta Kano". The Sullubawa revived the importance of Chiroma, according to Imam Umaru he was called 'Yariman Kano' and he led other sons of the *Amir*. Even in the 20th century the title of Chiroma was of high esteem because of the important dignitaries who held the title. (Adamu Fika op. cited p.25, F.n. 40 and Ferguson op. cited p. 210)

(22) Yusuf was appointed Chiroma in 1860 and in 1870 (after the death of the author) he was promoted to the rank of Galadima this was perhaps after the deposition of his uncle Abdulqadir. Later Mallam Ibrahim who was the scribe of the *Amir* wrote series of letters to Sokoto alledging that Emir Abdullahi was old, weak and inefficient and therefore he should be deposed these letters were signed in the name of Yusuf who was unaware. When the *Amir* visited Sokoto he was shown these letters, this made him to depose Yusuf he also attempted killing him but was prevented by Bello (who later became *Amir*). Yusuf was a candidate for succession after the death of his father, he was the *Amir al-Mu'minin's* favourite, but was opposed by the vizier (Wazir) of Sokoto on the ground that he will be too powerful the *Wazir* was in favour of Dan Lawal Yusuf, Turaki Bello was the compromise choice. Yusuf and his brothers and sisters were persecuted by the new *Amir* they appealed to Sokoto. *Amir al-Mu'minin* Abdurrahman (Danyen Kaso) promised to appoint Yusuf to succeed Bello this agreement was written. Later when Galadima Tukur helped the *Amir al-Mu'minin* Abdurrahman in his encounter with the Kebbawa he decided to break his promise and he appointed Tukur to succeed his father *Amir* Bello. Yusuf and his brother revolted against the *Amir* of Kano Muhammad Tukur Ibn Muhammad Bello this resulted in a desastrous civil war. Yusuf was the most popular Basullube of the nineteenth century therefore he was the most deserving personality for the Emirship of Kano. Yusuf was knowledgeable and intelligent he had excellent leadership and military qualities. He was a successful military commander he even killed Haruna the son of Dan-Maje in an encounter at Jambo. Yusuf had the support of all the prominent clans in Kano except the Danejawa. From the Yolawa he was supported by Kwairanga a Younger brother of the incumbent Madaki Ibrahim Mallam, Abdussalami from the Dambazawa clan and a cousin of the incumbent Sarkin Bai Bashari, from the Jobawa clan he was supported by Madakin Makama Hamza who was marrying his sister. From among the scholars *Amir* Muhammad Tukur had killed Mallam Shehu Ibn Salih therefore his bother Suleman led the children of Muhammad Ibn Salih to Takai where they gave their support to Yusuf. The Yusufawa defeated most of the territorial chiefs including Sarkin Gaya Ibrahim a brother inlaw to Amir Tukur. When Yusuf died at Takai as a result of illness Aliyu Babba (Sarkin Kano Alu) a grandson of the *Amir al-Mu'minin* Aliyu Babba Ibn Muhammad Bello was installed as the leader of the

Yusufawa. He was the most learned and charismatic of all the children of *Amir* Abdullahi Ibn Ibrahim. Aliyu defeated Tukur on Wednesday (c. 19 August 1894 (c. 16 safar 1312) and took over the Administration of Kano. Amir Tukur and his followers established a palace at Kamri but he was attacked and killed by *Amir* Aliyu on 16th March 1895 (19th Ramadan 1312 AH). Sokoto later accepted Aliyu as the *Amir* of Kano. (Adamu Fika pp.50 to 75 M. Last the Sokoto *Caliphate* pp.135 and 138. Also D.M. Last JHSN Vol.III No.3 Dec. 1966 p.468 and discussions with Mallam Daud Dan Sarkin Kano Alu and Alhaji Dawaki (separately).

(23) Son of Madaki Umar Ibn Jibril, his mother was Kumbuto the daughter of *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo. His brother was martyred at Fajawa in an encounter with the Ningawa. (Interview with Mallam Daud Dan Sarkin Kano Alu Kurawa Quarters).

(24) The only man addressed as the famous saint by Muhammad Ibn Salih. (see comment 11 of Chapter 1)

(25) A famous *'Alim* who fought in the Jihad. He came from Misau stayed briefly at Dutsetchen moved to Gaya, he also lived at Tsangaya before he finally arrived at Kano. Jao'je near Gyadi-Gyadi was named after him. I have not been able to trace his descendants (interview with Mallam Musa Hussaini).

(26) Appointed Sarkin Dawaki Maituta by Amir Ibrahim Dabo he was the commander of the army that silenced the rebels of Karaye. He was one of the bravest commanders of the nineteenth century Kano. There were more than two Sarkin Dawaki's before the civil war: The Sarkin Dawaki Maituta was a member of the Emirate council, and the title had been associated with the descendants *'Alim* Jammo throughout the nineteenth century. The present Sarkin Dawaki is Alhaji Aminu Babba Dan Agundi.

(27) The first to be confered with the title of Magajin Mallam (the successor of the scholar i.e. successor of *'Alim* Uthman Bahaushe). He was a member of the Emirate Council representing the Hausawa who were represented in the Emirate Council before the civil war. The title of Magajin Mallam was given to the Yolawa in the twentieth century.

(28) The title of Dan Iya was first instituted by Sarki Muhammad Kisoki (1509 - 1565 AD. 914 - 972 AH). The *first Dan Iya was Dabkare a brother of Muhammad Kisoki by the same mother Lamis, he was made a* member of the "Tara ta Kano" after the expulsion of Barde. This is contrary to the Daneji oral tradition which claimed that the title of Dan Iya got its origin from the son of Iya, daughter of *'Alim* Danzabuwa. According to both Daud and Mallam Musa Hussain the Danejawa lost the title after the civil war with the appointment of Mallam Gajere b. Amir Abdullahi as the Dan Iya. (H.R. Palmer pp. 112 and 113 and A. Fika p.11, comment 12 chapter 3 and discussions with Mallam Musa Hussaini and Mallam Daud (separately).

(29) Sarki Kutumbi (1623-1648 AD) created this office and its holder was made in charge of the calvary. It was revived by the Sullubawa. (H.R. Palmer pg. 119 and A. Fika 11).

(30) The Jaidanawa are descendants of Mallam Jae a Fulani who came to Kano during the time of Sarki Alwali, he lived in a village called Jaen (named after him) 32km North of Kano. Alwali invited Mallam Jae to stay with him in his palace he was therefore given a house close to that of Dan Rimi. Mallam Jae taught Alwali how to take care of his cattle. Later Mallam Jae was given the house of Sarkin Rano in Daneji quarters of Kano and was appointed Sarkin Fulani Jaidanawa. Mallam Jae observed the atrocities of Alwali he therefore wrote to Shaikh Uthman indicating his belief in Jihad when the Shaikh started calling people to Jihad he sent his children Abdullahi, Idris, Ahmadu and Sambo with a letter pledging his allegiance to the Shaikh when Islam became established in Kano, Abdullahi was appointed as the Sarkin Fulanin Jaidanawa. Yusuf was one of the descendants of Mallam Jae. (Based on Interview conducted on 10/5/87 with Alhaji Gwadabe Buhari, the present Sarkin Fulanin Jaidanawa and District Head of Garki, he was formerly the scribe of the Amir of Kano before his present appointment he is a descendant of Mallam Jae).

(31) A slave title holder indicating that the slaves were confered important titles before the civil war.

(32) No information about him.

(33) He was also one of the most learned scholars of his time (comment 76 of this chapter). He is the son of the *'Alim* Abdullahi Jangowa. (I. Ado *History and Geneology of the Gyanawa* op. cited p.10).

(34) T is a further indication that the administration of Abdullahi Ibn Ibrahim was very organised Angothe father of the Sankurmi was the Galadima According to Imam Umaru the San Kurmi was also in-charge of the Kurmi Market. (Ferguson op.cited p.210)

(35) He was later degraded by the *Amir* Abdullahi Ibn Ibrahim, Ma'ajin watari is believed to be a relative of *Amir* Sulaiman Ibn Aba Hamma.

(36) For lack of a more appropriate English word it was used but it denoted present and past actions of *Amir* Abdullahi Ibn Ibrahim.

(37) These military displays helped in scaring away the enemies of the *Amir*.

(38) Quran 8 verse 60 Yusuf Ali's translation, Allah is instructing the believers to make provisions in preparations for Jihad, in form of training and otherwise. (Ibn Kathir: (Tafsir al-Quran al-azim Cairo. Vol.2 Page 322)

(39) Transmitted by Muslim from Harun Ibn Mu'aruf in his authentic work, it is an explanation of the above verse used by Ibn Kathir in his Tafsir (Ibn Kathir op.cited Vol.2 p.322).

(40) A village in Gaya Local Government Area.

(41) The Shaaiy Bukhari of Hadejia was a coward there was no need to chase him.

(42) He convened the Emirate Council for consultation, this was the practice through out the nineteenth century. Members of the Council usually deliberated on important administrative and judicial matters.

(43) They prayed to Allah to bring the issue to a logical conclusion.

(44) He had taken a decision, thus he felt it was necessary to inform the councillors.

(45) No information about this place.

(46) A village some few kilometres North-west of Katagum in Bauchi State, see map 4.

(47) A village south of Katagum, North of Azare in Bauchi State see map 4.

(48) This was *Amir al-Mu'minin* Ahmadu Zaruq Ibn Abubakar Atiku Ibn Shaikh he was appointed Khalifa in 1276 AH (1859). He ws a popular Khalifa the Jihad was continous throughout his Caliphate. He aided dan Halima in establishing rival Gobir Kingdom at Sabon Birni. Which became a vassal of Sokoto and a rival of Tsibiri. *Amir al-Mu'minin* Ahmad Zaruq died on 23rd Jumada Thani 1283 (2 November 1866). He was succeeded by his cousin Aliyu Karami Ibn Bello. *Amir al-Mu'minin* Ahmad Zaruq was also refered to as Mai Chimola. (Hogben, S.J.: An Introduction to the History of Islamic States of Northern Nigeria, OUP 1967 pp.210-216 and M. Last: *The Sokoto Caliphate* pp. 114-118).

(49) See map 4.

(50) Another name for Gorgoram a fortified city, the former capital of Badde. It was called Birnin Babuje because of Lawal Babuje who was the *Amir* of Badde (d. 1842) a member of the Gidgid dynasty (Hogben pp.187-191).

(51) The *Shaqiy* Buhari, was killed by Mai Alhaji in 1863 the *Amir* of Badde (1843-1893) who was a great warrior, he maintained the independence of Badde. Buhari was succeeded by his son Umaru who reigned for two years after which he was forced to abdicate (Hogben op. cited pp.265-267).

(52) A Kingdom in the Niger Republic that was a satellite of Borno, it was a traditional enemy of the Sokoto Caliphate. The tyrants of Damagaram raided Kano territory and enslaved many freeborn muslims. *Amir* Abdullahi was able to defend Kano against these tyrants and the inhuman acts of the Damagarawa.

(53) These people inflicted heavy damage on the Kano Emirate. They enslaved many freeborn Muslims the *Amir* of Kano had to retaliate in defence of his people, as a result of which many of the uncivilised savage pagans were enslaved just as their Kinsmen enslaved innocent and peace loving muslims. Some contemporary historians who are political opportunists capitalise on this issue claiming that the Emirs of the Sokoto were slave raiders. This is a propaganda aimed at wining cheap popularity from Northern minority tribes.

(54) Bauchi, Kano, Katagum, Jama'are and Misau Emirates.

(55) A village in Sumaila Local Government Area, Kano State, see map 4.

(56) Those who camp at *ribats* for the purpose of defending an Islamic territory.

(57 The second *Amir* of Bauchi he succeeded his father in 1845 and ruled for 22 years then abdicated in favour of his son. He was a scholar and an excellent military commander he was next in military power to the *Amir* of Kano. With Allah's help he subjugated the notorious savage angas and montol tribes (Hogben pp.247-248).

(58) In Ningi territory Bauchi State.

(59) This was perhaps Darazo headquarters of Darazo Local Government Area of Bauchi State. The town is located between latitude 11° 1' N and Longitude 10° 24'E.

(60) North of Ningi in Bauchi State.

(61) The *Amir was the commander in this encounter.*

(62) Abubakar Dan Maje: leader of the mountain tribes (1855-70) their capital was Lungu. He was a successor of Hamza. (H.I. Said: Ph.D. Dissertation University of Michigan pp.200-20, see footnote 3 chapter 3 of the Dissertation).

(63) He was a grandson of Amir Ibrahim Dabo who had excellent military qualities (see comment 4 above).

(64) This is not clear from what Ibn Salih had written it could mean that they waited for the *Amir* of Bauchi but did not see any of his men or it could mean they did not see any of the *Kuffar*.

(65) North of Azare between latitude 12° 10'N and Longitude 10° 31'E Bauchi State.

(66) Same as 55.

(67) An indication of how notorious Dan Maje was and also the degree of unity and co-operation between the Emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate.

(68) In Gwaram Local Government Area of Kano State.

(69) In Quran chapter 8: verse 41 Allah the Almighty has stated "And know that out of all the booty that you acquire (in war) a fifth share is assigned to Allah and the Apostle and the near relatives, orphans, the needy and the wayfarer. If you believe in Allah and the revelation we sent down to our servant on the day of testing, the day of meeting of the two forces for Allah has power over all things". According to the Maliki school and most of the scholars; the Imam should take 1/5 which will be utilised for the sake of Allah, the poor, the needy and the wayfarer and 4/5 should be distributed to the Mujahidun (those who strive in the course of Allah), on the battle ground (perferably) (Shaikh Nafrawi al-Fawakihu al-Dawany Vol.1 page 469 and Ibn Kathir vol.2 pages 311-316, for the opinion of other scholars).

(70) This refers to lands or properties "acquired by muslims from non-muslims regardless of whether the acquisation came about through force of arms or a treaty". A.A. Gwandu: *The source of revenue in Islam: A look at the meaning of Fay, Ghanimah, Jizya and Kharaj* (R.A. Molla et al editors Frontiers and mechanics in Islamic economies Sokoto 1988.

(71) *Amir* Abdullahi was at the ribat of Kafin Baka for 2 years inorder to defend his territory against the notorious tyrant Dan Maje. Sarkin Dutse Sulaiman I (1846-65) and the Madaki of Kano were martyred at the ribat of Fajewa in an encounter with the tyrant Dan Maje (Sulaiman Ibrahim Jahun: *Tarihin Kasar Jahun* unpublished 1986, and Alhaji Mai Kano Dutse: *Tarihin Dutse* unpublished 1976).

(72) Ahmad Rufa'i b. Shaikh Uthman, he was very pious and learned. He was the Caliph *(Amir al-Mu'minin)* from 1284 to 1290 AH (1867 - 1873) (See M. Last: *The Sokoto Caliphate* pp.119 - 121)

(73) Some of the scholars are of the opinion that one should not pray to Allah to do something for him because of a dead saint, Ibn Taimiyah was a major proponent of this opinion. Where as Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio prayed in a similar fashion in a poem in Fulfulde which was translated by Abdullahi Ibn Fūdi in Tazyin al-Waraqat this is the English translation:

"...And answer the prayer of the Composer
together with the scribe,
O my Lord through the rank of Abdul-Qadir".

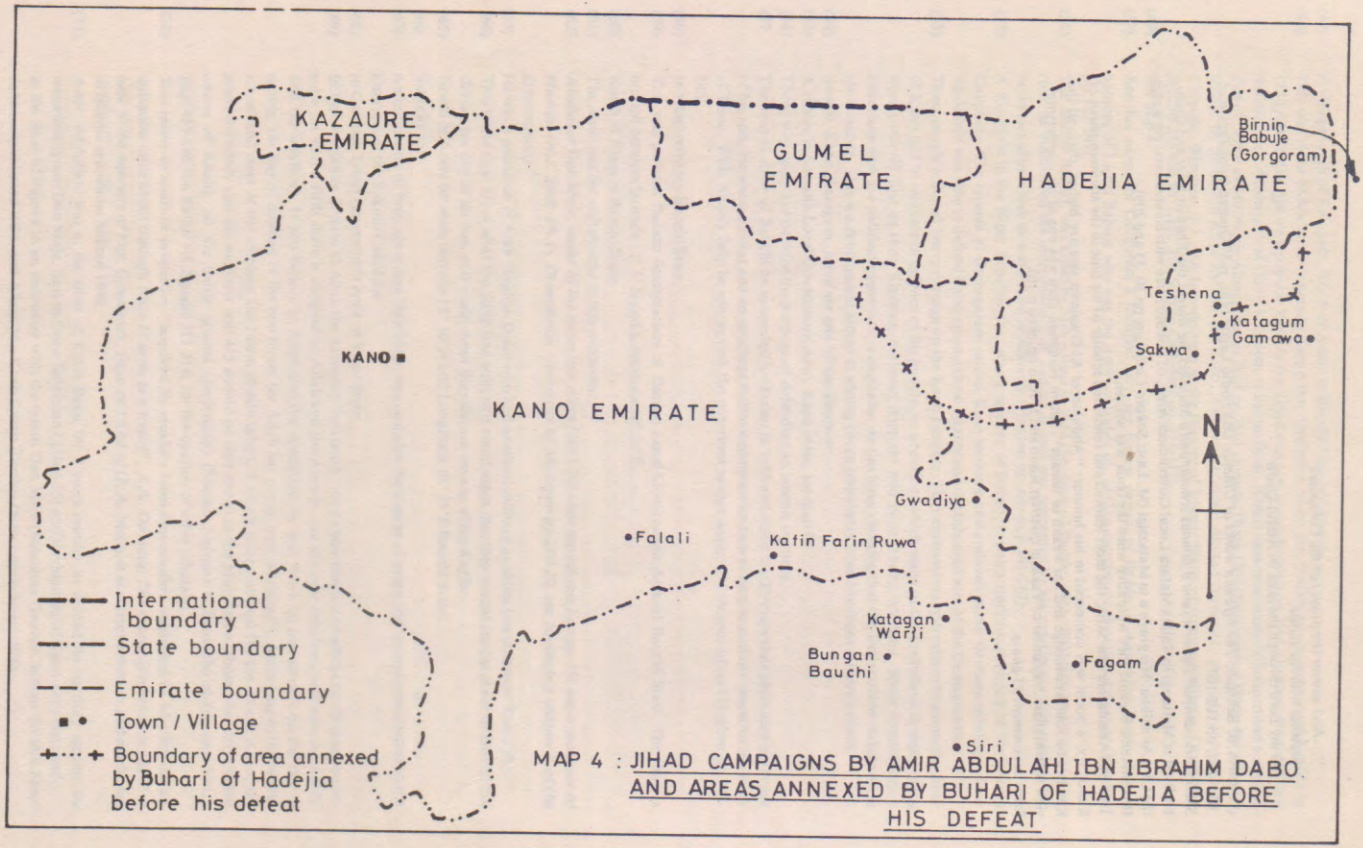
(Ismail A.B. Balogun; *The Life and works of Uthman Dan Fodio* Lagos 1981, p.37 Quoted from *Tazyin al-Waraqat*, pp.105-107).

(74) *Shaikh Muhammad Tukur a saint a famous scholar and a Mujahid*, he fought the Jihad at Adar and Gobir. He lived at Matuzzgi in Talata Mafara Local Government Area, of Sokoto State with his students. He wrote the Qira Al-ahibba. His grave is in Matazzigi (M. Last: *Sokoto Caliphate* pp.30, 33 and 209).

(75) Present tense because they were alive when the book was written.

(76) This was Abdulazeez Ibn Salih, the most learned and renowned scholar of his time in the southern parth of Kano city, a poem was composed in his honour: "Abdulazeez Al-Gyanawa you are higher, than all the Kanawa by your knowledge and not wealth or lineage". Imam Hamman Zara was one of his pupils (interview with Mallam Nagambo of Yakasai quarters Kano and I. Ado op.cited p.10).

(77) *Same as comment 33 above.*



MAP 4 : JIHAD CAMPAIGNS BY AMIR ABDULAHI IBN IBRAHIM DABO AND AREAS ANNEXED BY BUHARI OF HADEJIA BEFORE HIS DEFEAT

CONCLUSION: ON THE VIRTUES AND CONDUCT OF THE MUHAJIRUN

It was the behaviour of the *Muhajirun*(1) to love one another for the sake of Allah. They conducted all their transactions in accordance with the principles of the Holy Quran, the revival of the *sunna* and destruction of innovations. They performed what was enjoined avoided forbiden acts and established Allah's boundry limits for *halal* and *haram*. They avoided engaging themselves in unnecessary arguments (concerning their life transaction - Islam), and they were united in truth. There was co-operation within the community in disbursing food and other amenities. If any of them had anything to spend for himself and his family he never did that until he shares it equally with his fellow muslim brothers because of their degree of love and compassion for each other. They were as the Almighty has said in His Holy Book: "Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah; and those who are with him are strong against the unbelievers; (but) compassionate amongst each other".(2) They spent most of their time in worshiping Allah. Whenever the *Kuffar* attacked them, they confronted them collectively. They never feared death, they wanted it because they were looking forward to martyrdom and whenever a *mujahid* was martyred he was succeeded by his son or brother hoping that Allah will bless him with martyrdom as he had blessed his predecessor(3). Whenever they acquired booty their *ulama* and leaders will divide it into five and give one fifth to the orphans, the poor, the needy the old and the weak;- (those who have no ability of getting anything). In effect a man from amongst them was just like the *Jama'a* as a whole. Each one of them had an honour in the category of those who first accepted Islam (i.e. they were similar to the first generation of Muslims).

I have quoted (learnt) from our Shaikh *'Alim* Mustapha(4) known as Taib, the Foundation of the Quran (i.e. the foundation of the Quranic knowledge). He informed us that: "it was the foundation of the Quranic knowledge during the time of the Apostle of Allah (may the peace and blessing of Allah be upon him), that when a verse of the Quran was revealed on a particular person as for example the case of Sayiduna Abubakar when he gave out his wealth in charity as stated by the Almighty: "He who spends his wealth. For increase in self purification. And have in his mind no favour from anyone, for which reward is expected in return. But only the desire to seek for the contenance of his Lord Most High. And soon will he attain complete satisfaction,"(5) thus Allah is informing us in His book that He has accepted Sayiduna Abubakar(6) and that he shall be in paradise without any doubt. And if an ayat is revealed on a particular person such as Abu Lahab (father of flame) when Allah said "perish the hands of the father of the flame perish he. No profit to him from all his wealth and

all his gains. Burnt soon will he be in a fire of blazing flame! His wife shall carry the (cracking) wood as fuel! A twisted rope of palm fibre round her neck''(7). he is from among the people of hell may Allah protect us against it. Then the generations that come after them, whoever does any (good) deed similar to one done by Sayyiduna Abubakar, it is most likely that he shall be among the people of the paradise. And whoever does any (evil) deed similar to the one done by Abu Lahab it is most likely that he shall be among the people of the hell''.

Allah has said on the issue of status of the first people to embrace Islam: ''The Vanguard (of Islam) the first of those who forsook (their homes) and of those who gave them aid, and (also) those who follow them in (all) good deeds, well pleased is Allah with them. As are they with Him, for them hath He prepared gardens under which rivers flow to dwell therein forever. That is supreme felicity''(8). The subject (of the verse) is the vanguard (the first of those who forsook their homes and of those who give them aid), the predicate (of the verse) is Allah's acceptance of them. Allah the Almighty has informed us (from the above verse) that he has accepted them without giving them any condition. The phrase 'those who follow them' (in good deeds) is joined to the vanguard, the condition for accepting them (those who follow the vanguard) is they most perform good deeds. The Apostle of Allah (may His peace and blessings be upon him) has said (about his companions) ''if anyone else spends as much as uhud of gold (in alms) it will not reach a *mud*(9) (of grain) spent (in alms) by one of them (the companions)(10)''. Oh my dear brother reflect on the differences between *mud* and Uhud which is the well-known mountain in Madina. He who spends grains (in alms) and he who spends gold (in alms) cannot be compared, this is the esteem of the companions. The Apostle of Allah (may His peace and blessings be upon him) has said ''if my companion is mentioned keep quite''. He has instructed us to be quite and not to get involved in arguments concerning what happened between them, so that it will not lead us to destruction. If you *understand* what we have stated concerning the honour of the vanguard of Islam (the companions) then you will understand that our fathers the *Muhajirun* have copied the behavior of the companions it is therefore most likely that they are among the people of paradise (we are optimistic that they shall be in paradise). And whoever abuses them with unpleasant statements or actions or disputes he is just similar to the one who offended the companions, it is most likely that he shall be among the people of the hell. He (may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) has said ''This *Umma* shall not be destroyed until the last generation condemn (curse) the first generation'' this is an indication of the destruction of the later generations if they insult the first generation. What is good for later generations is to respect the first generation (earlier generations). Should mention only the good of them and

should say only the good of what they have said or keep quite.(11)

And this is the end of what Allah has permitted us to compile today Monday 6th of the month of Allah Dhul'Qada 1268(12) All praise be to Allah, the First, the Last, the Manifest and the Hidden. Peace be upon the leader of the heavenly and earthly creatures, and all his companions, their followers, the imitators of their followers and all those who imitate them in good actions untill the day of judgement. The compiler (author) of this book (which is called) *"Taqyid al-akhbar"* is Muhammad bin Salih Qadi Kano Muhammad Zangi(13) Oh Allah forgive all muslim men and women, those living and those who have died. All praise be to Allah lord of all the worlds, peace and blessings be upon the leader of the messengers. Finished on Saturday, 10th Rabi al-akhir 1351(14).

COMMENTARY

1. Those who Emigrate in the way of Allah, see comment(1) of Chapter two.
2. Quran 48:29. This was the nature of the Believers: very strict against the enemies of Allah and compassionate to their brothers in Islam. Bukhari and Muslim have transmitted that the Apostle of Allah (may His peace and blessings be upon him) has said "The similitude of the believers in their friendship and compassionate relationship(s) is just like one body, if anyone section has a problem it is defended and helped by the other sections of the body". (Ibn Kathir *Tafsir-al-Quran al-'Azim* Vol.4 pp.204-5).
3. Succession should be based on Merit because everybody wants to be blessed whether his father or brother occupied that position or not. Shaikh Abdullahi Ibn Fodio has condemned succession to public office by force or inheritence in his book *Diya-al-Umara.* (Shaikh Abdullahi Ibn Fodio: *Diya al-Umara* Folio 16 (Manuscript NAK).
4. A reputable nineteenth century Islamic scholar, well versed in Tafsir (commentary of the Quran). He was one of the teachers of Muhammad Ibn Salih.
5. Quran chapter 92: 18-21. His Lord shall accept him and reward him. Most of the commentators are of the of the opinion that it was a consensus that the verses were revealed because of him (Shaikh Sabuni: *Muktasar Tafsir Ibn Kathir* Vol.3 Dar al Quran p.648, Imam Assuyuti: *Asbab-al-Nuzul* Maktabat Nasir *Tafsir Ibn Kathir* Vol.3 Dar al Quran p.648, Imam Assuyuti: *Assabab-al-Nuzul* Maktabat Nasir p.298, and Imam Assuyuti: *Tarikh al-Khulafa* Dar al-Fikr 1974 p.36).
6. His full name was Abdullahi Ibn Abi Qahafa, born two years after the Apostle of Allah (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him). He was among the elders of the Quraish. Named *Siddiq* (Righteous) by the Apostle of Allah (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) because when the Apostle of Allah made his night journey to Jerusalem he said to Jibril 'my people shall not believe me' and Jibril replied 'Abubakar shall believe you' and when he returned Abubakar was the first to believe him. When *Amir al Mu'minin* Ali was asked about Abubakar he said "that was the man Allah named Righteous by the word of Jibril and Muhammad, he was the successor of the Apostle of Allah for Salat he accepted him for us and we accepted him". He was the first to accept Islam from among male adults Ibn Ishaq has transmitted that the Apostle of Allah (may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) has said "There was no one I called to Islam that did not show his anger, reluctance and doubt except Abubakar". Bukhari has transmitted that the Apostle of Allah has said "Have you seen that I have a companion? I have said Oh people I am the Apostle of Allah, they said 'you have lied' and Abubakar said 'you are right'". The scholars have said that Abubakar was in the company of the Apostle of Allah from the time he became a muslim to the time the Apostle of Allah died. It is the consensus of the *Ahl Sunnah* that Abubakar was the best of all the companions then Umar, followed by Uthman and Ali. Several Hadiths have indicated that Abubakar was the most qualified to succeed the Apostle as the *Khalifah.* When the Apostle of Allah (may His peace and blessings be upon him) died Abubakar was appointed the Khalifah by the Muslims through allegience. Thereafter most of the Arabs became apostates and refused to pay the zakat Abubakar fought them and was victorious. He died on Tuesday 21/22 Jumada al-Akhir 13 A.H. (Assuyuti *Tarikh al Khulafa* op. cited pp.26-101).
7. Chapter III: 1-5. Abu Lahab's full name was Abdul-Uza Ibn Abdulmutalib an uncle of the Apostle of Allah. When the Apostle of Allah (Salla'llahu 'alayhi wa sallam) called on the Quraish to accept the message of Allah during one of his preachings, Abu-Lahab who was one of his enemies, abused him by saying 'woe or perish thee'. Then Allah revealed this chapter. (Ibn Kathir op. cited Vol.4 p.564-6 and Assuyuti: *Assabab-al-Nuzul* op. cited p.208).
8. Surut al-Taubat: Ayat 100. Allah is informing us of his acceptance of the *Muhajirun* and the *Ansar* 'woe on to those who abuse or curse them". (Ibn Kathir op. cited Vol.2 pp.384-5).

9. Literally means half bushel.

10. Abi Muhammad Abdullahi b. Abi Zaid has explained the superiority and virtues of the companions. (Abi Muhammad Abdullahi b. Abi Zaid *Kitab al-Jami'a* Mu'asasat al-Tunis pp.115-116).

11. Contrary to what was assumed by Abdullahi Madhi nothing in this paragraph has indicated that members *of the court Ulama* have become numerous in the 19th century, or that the court *Ulama* arrogated to themselves the responsiblity of interpreting whether or not certain expressions amount to declaration of revolt against the ruler or that they declared any criticism of the policies of the *Jama'a* as heresy. (Abdullahi Madhi: *The Jihad and its role* ..... *op cited p.122*

12. *D.M. Last: JHSN Vol.3, December, 1966 p.462.*

13. He was popularly known as Muhammad Zangi. Qadi Kano between 1265 - 1296 A.H. (1848 - 1879)
The Translator is a great great grandson of Qadi Muhammad Zangi; Ibrahim b. Ado Kurawa b. Muhammad b. Shehu Usman b. Muhammad Zangi.

14. The copiest finished copying on this date.
All Praise be to Allah.

GLOSSARY OF ISLAMIC AND HAUSA TERMS

'Alim (Pl. Ulama) (Ar): A learned person, an Islamic Scholar

Amir al-Mu'minin (Ar): Commander of the faithful in this book refers to the political and spiritual head of the Sokoto Caliphate and Amir refers to a governor of a region in the Caliphate.

Bay'a (Ar): Pledging of allegience according to the Quran and Sunna.

Cucunawa (H): Palace/Royal slaves.

Dagaci (Pl. Dagatai) (H): Village Head

Dogari (Pl. Dogarai) (H) Palace guard(s) Body guard(s) of the Amir

Halal/Haram (Ar): Halal; Permissable (lawful) Haram; Forbidden.

Hijra (Ar): To emigrate in the way of Allah. Our beloved Prophet (Peace and blessings of Allah be Upon him) and his companions made the Hijra from Makkah to Madina. Muhajirun: Those who participated (or are participating) in the Hijra.

Ihsan (Ar): The core of gnosis.

Imam (Ar): In this book refers to the leader of the congregational prayer at the central mosque and member of the Emirate Council.

Jakada (H): Agent of the Amir, particularly for Zakkat collection in the Rural districts.

Jama'a (Ar): Community of believers

Jihad (Ar): Striving in the way of Allah. A Holy war waged against unbelief and unbelievers. Jihad is an ordinance, binding, obligatory and in continuance it is an urgent necessity for the survival of Islam.

Kafir/Kufr (Pl. Kafirun) Kufr means to cover up reality; Kafir is one who does so. The Kafir is the opposite of mu'min. The point is that everyone knows 'how it is' only it suits some people to deny it and pretend otherwise, to behave as if we are going to be here forever. This is called "KUFR" (Shaikh Abdalqadir as-Sufi Glossary to *The Meaning of Man* pp.447-455 Norwich 1977).

Karamat (Ar): Miracles "Events in the phenomenal world that imply a break in the causal chain" (Shaikh Abdalqadir as-Sufi op. cited).

Ribat (Ar): Frontier Stronghold (Fortress town), camping at the frontier stronghold. Murabitun: garrison of the stronghold (fortress).

Sharia (Pl. Shara'i) (Ar): Literally a road. It is behaviour modality of people based on the revelation of their Prophet. The last Sharia in history has proved to be that of Islam. Its social modality abrogates all previous Shara'i e.g. Navajo, Judaic, vedic, Budhic etc. These Shara'i' however continue, the arrival and confrontation takes places in that culture with the final and thus superior Shari'a - Islam. It is, being the last, therefore the easiest to follow, for it is applicable to the whole human race wherever they are". (Shaykh Abdalqadir as-Sufi op. cited).

Sunna (Ar): "Literally, the form of practice of the messenger Muhammad (blessings and peace of Allah be upon him). It is a complete behavioural Science that has been systematically kept outside the learning framework of this society" (Shaykh Abdalqadir as-Sufi op. cited).

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APPENDIX I

GENEOLOGIES OF THE AMIRS OF KANO

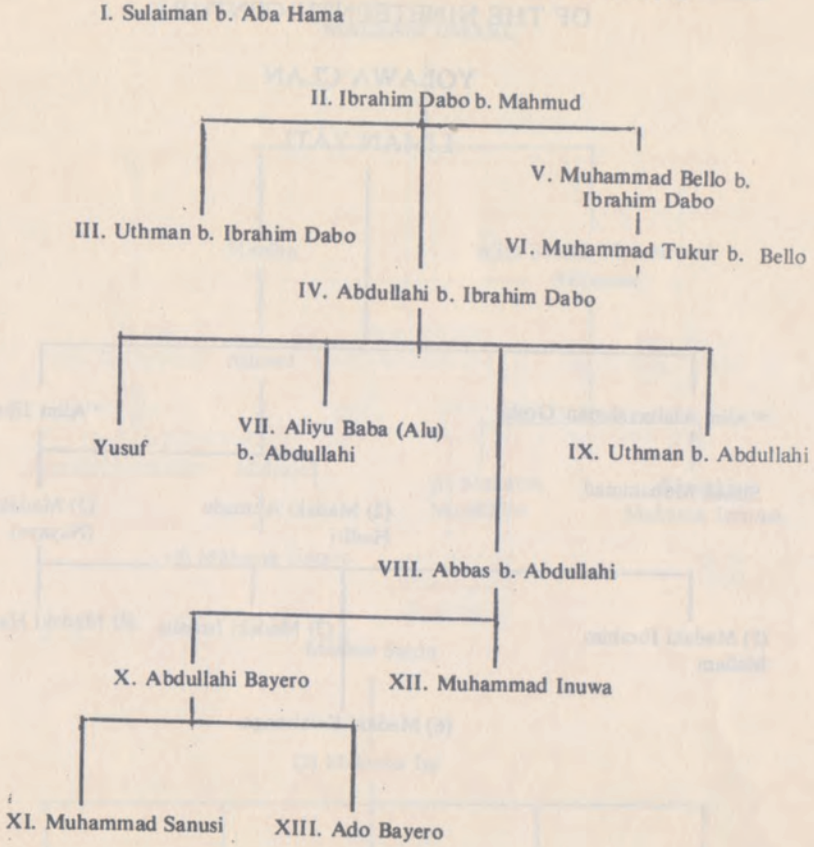
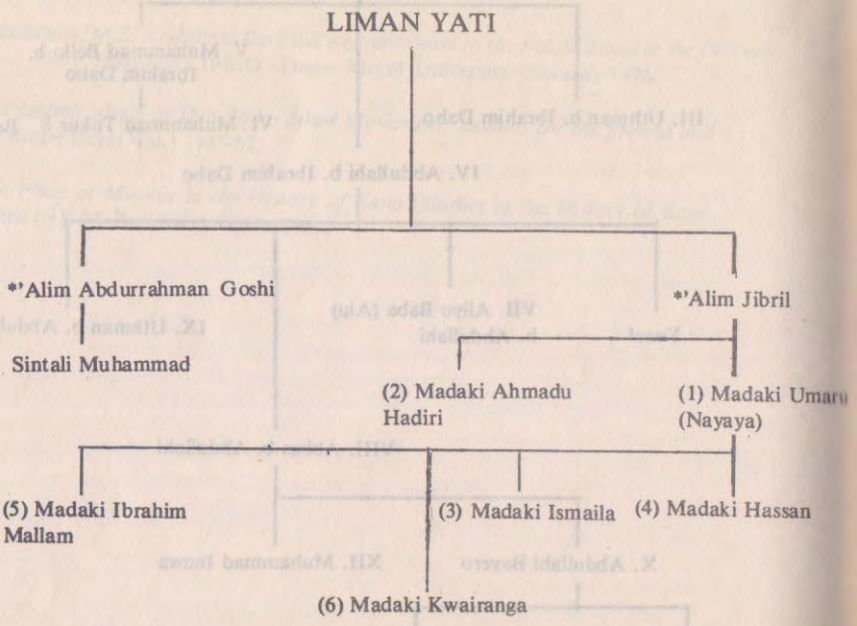

I. Sulaiman b. Aba Hama
II. Ibrahim Dabo b. Mahmud
III. Uthman b. Ibrahim Dabo
V. Muhammad Bello b. Ibrahim Dabo
VI. Muhammad Tukur b. Bello
IV. Abdullahi b. Ibrahim Dabo
Yusuf
VII. Aliyu Baba (Alu) b. Abdullahi
IX. Uthman b. Abdullahi
VIII. Abbas b. Abdullahi
X. Abdullahi Bayero
XII. Muhammad Inuwa
XI. Muhammad Sanusi
XIII. Ado Bayero

Fig 1: *Amirs* of Kano from 1221 AH (1806) to Date.

APPENDIX II

GENEOLOGIES OF MEMBERS OF THE EMIRATE COUNCILS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

YOLAWA CLAN



*Members of the Emirate council before the reversion to Habe titles.

Fig. 2:
Yolawa Clan: Members of the Emirate Council and title holders of Madaki before the colonial rule. (Members of this clan are still title holders of Madaki).

(Source: J.N. Paden: *Religion and Political Culture in Kano 1973* p. 406 and Discussions with Mallam Musa Hussaini and Mallam Daud Ibn Aliyu Babba (Dan Sarkin Kano Alu) conducted separately in May 1987).

JOBAWA CLAN

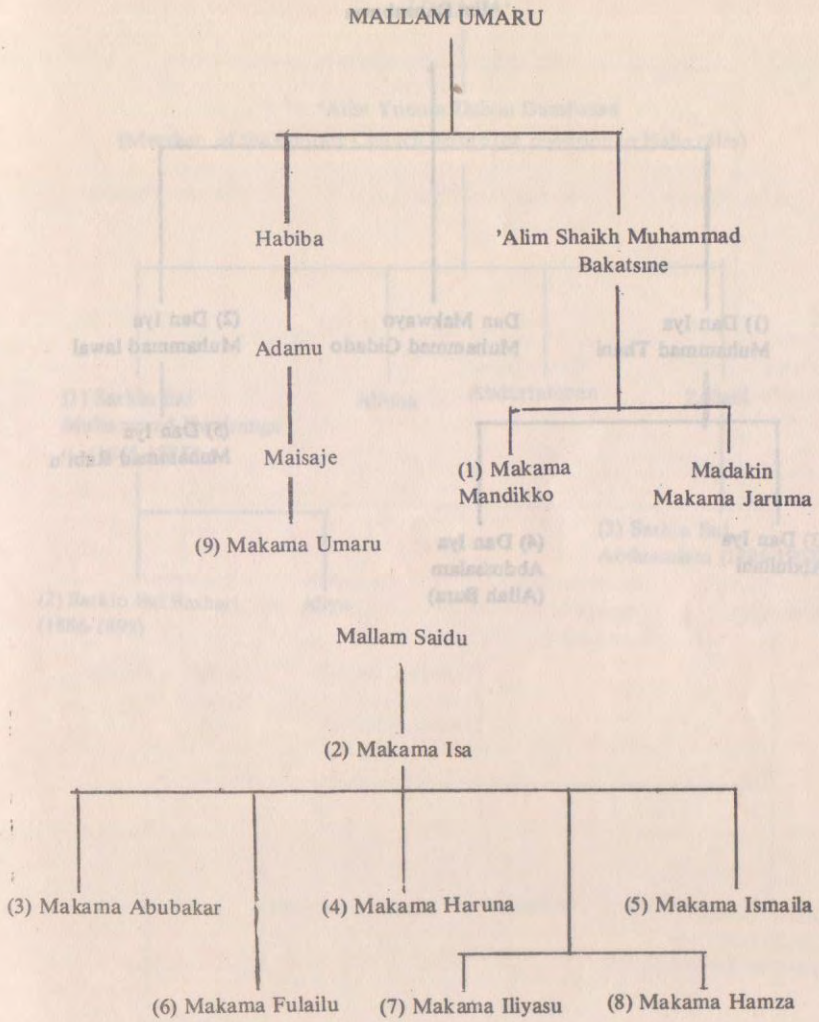


Fig (3) Jobawa Clan: Members of the Emirate Council and titleholders of Makama before the Kano Civil War (members of this clan are still titleholders of Makama)

DANEJAWA CLAN

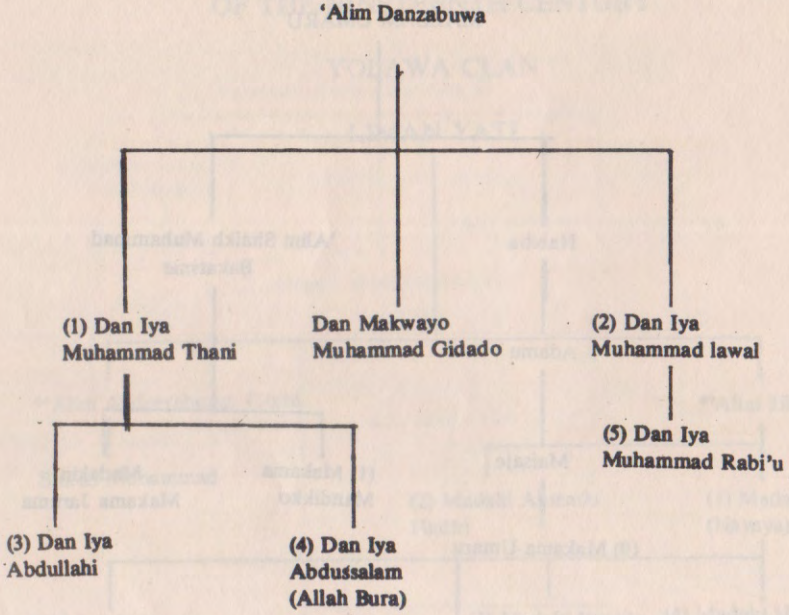

'Alim Danzabuwa
(1) Dan Iya Muhammad Thani
Dan Makwayo Muhammad Gidado
(2) Dan Iya Muhammad lawal
(5) Dan Iya Muhammad Rabi'u
(3) Dan Iya Abdullahi
(4) Dan Iya Abdussalam (Allah Bura)

Fig (4) Danejawa Clan: Members of the Emirate Council and title holders of Dan'Iya before the Kano Civil War.

(Source: Interviews and Discussions with Mallam Musa Hussaini Madabo conducted in May 1987).

DANBAZAWA CLAN

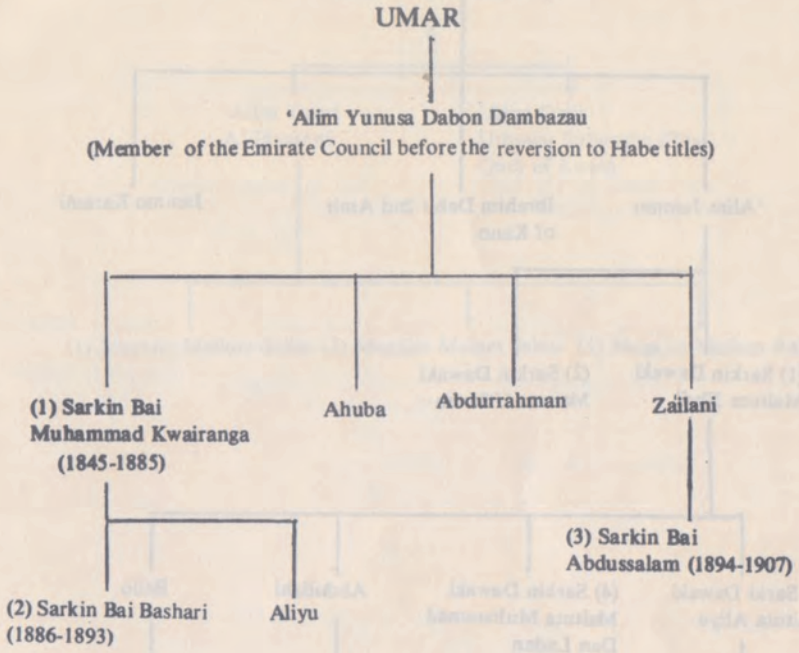


Fig (5) Dambazawa Clan: Members of the Emirate Council and title holders of Sarkin Bai before the colonial Rule (Members of this clan are still title holders of Sarkin Bai).

(Source: Interviews and Discussions Mallam Musa Hussaini Madabo conducted in May 1987 and J.N. Paden Op. cited p. 407).

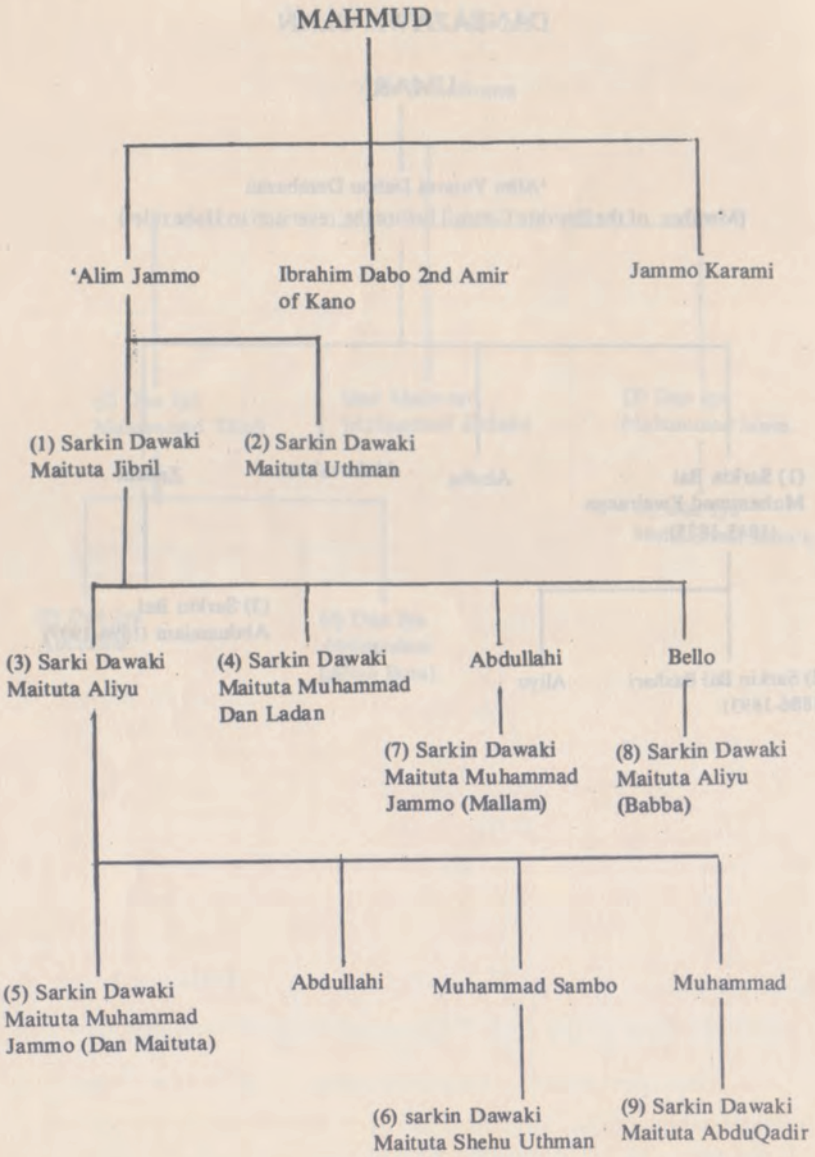


Fig (6) Sullubawan Tuta: Members of the emirate council and Title holders of Sarkin Dawaki Maituta before the colonial rule (Members of this clan are still title holders of Sarkin Dawaki Maituta).

(Source: Dr. Isa Hashim, Director CABS Kaduna Polytechnic).

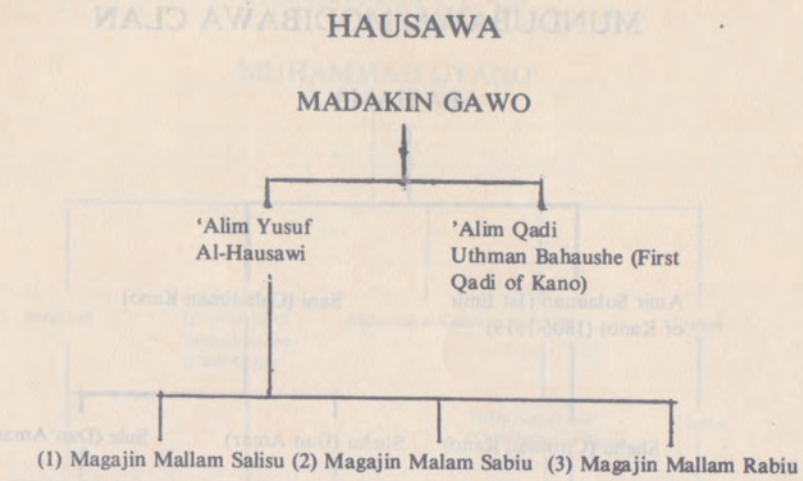


Fig (7) HAUSAWA: Members of the Emirate Council and Title holders of Magajin Mallam.

Source; Alhaji AbdulQadir of Hausawa Quarters.

MUNDUBAWA/MODIBAWA CLAN

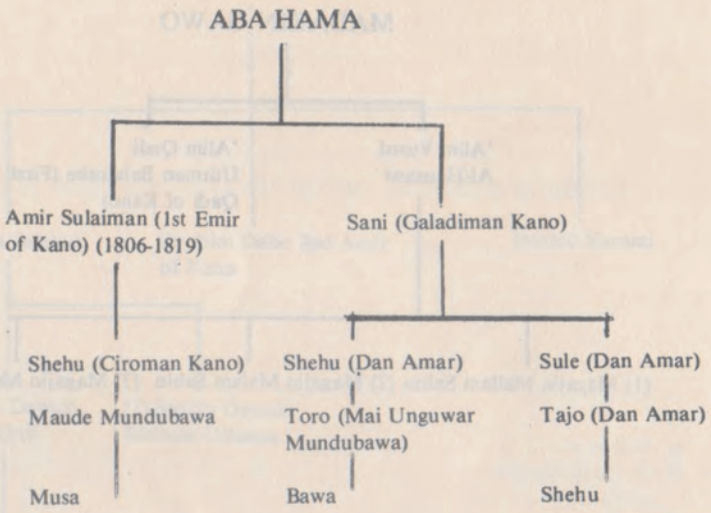


Fig (8) Mundubawa/Modibawa Clan: members of the Emirate Council and title holders of Mai-unguwar Mundubawa and Dan Amar before the colonial Rule).

GYANAWA CLAN

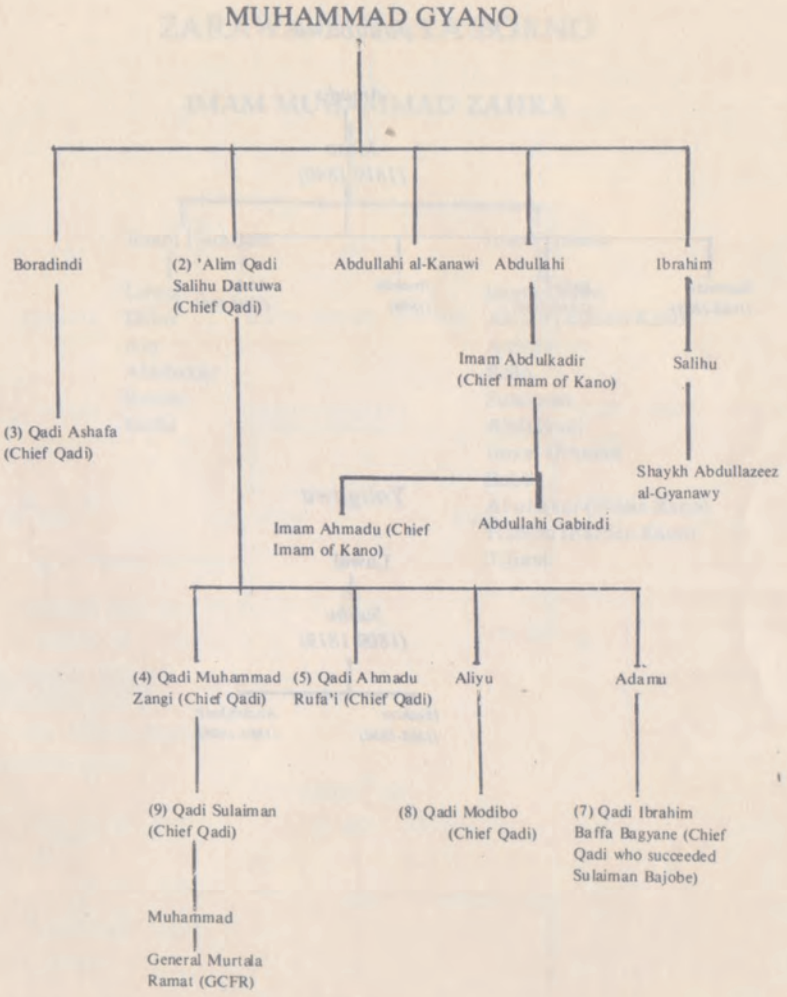


Fig (9) Gyanawa clan a branch of the Jallubawa clan, members of the Emirate Council and Chief Qadis before the colonial rule

(Source; I. Ado; *History and Geneology of the Gyanawa 1000 AH to Date).*

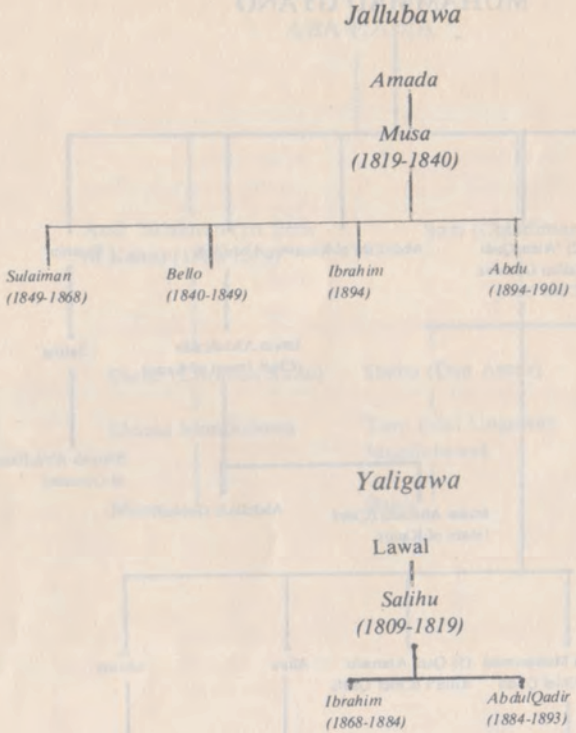


Fig (10) The title of Sarkin Dutse alternation between the Jallubawa and the Yaligawa clans before the colonial rule (The two clans still alternate the district Headship of Dutse)

(Source: Alh. Abdullahi Maikano: *Tarihin Dutse* 1976 (unpublished) and J.N. Paden op. cited. p.409).

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The *Jihad* led by Shaikh Uthman b. Fudi was the most important event in the thirteenth century (nineenth century - christian dating) Hausaland. The *Jihad* leaders founded the Sokoto Caliphate where they established Islamic Governance, which was the highest achievement by African leaders South of the Sahara before the European Colonial rule. For the first time the way the *Jihad* was carried out in Kano is presented in this book. Qadi Muhammad Zangi b. Salih, was a student of the *Jihad* leaders in Kano therefore he had access to the necessary historical sources. this made it easy for him to write the *Taqyid al-akbar*. This translation and analysis of *Taqyid al-akhbar* will help researchers and general readers understand the nature of the *Jihad* campaigns and the process of transformation from the *Habe Sarauta* system to Islamic system of governance. It is a book important to the academic and general study of the History of the Sokoto Caliphate.

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